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THE PLACE-NAMES OF WILTSHIRE

THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

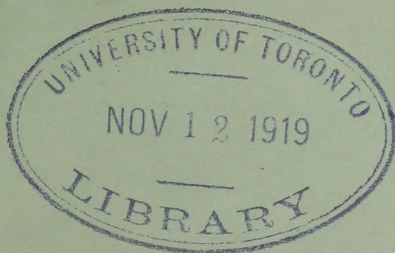
INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

EINAR EKBLOM

LIC. PHIL., ÖSTG.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPPSALA
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED (IN ENGLISH) IN LECTURE HALL I,
MAY 25TH, 1917, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



UPPSALA 1917
APPELBERGS BOKTRYCKERI A.-B.

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Preface.

No branch of English philology seems of late years to have aroused such great interest as the study of place-nomenclature, and, if one were to judge from the many works that have been published on this subject, the science in question ought to be at a comparatively advanced stage. A closer investigation of these works, however, will show that a great part of them by no means satisfy the claims of strict scholarship. As far as one can see, the study of English place-names has to a certain extent fallen into the hands of persons who have not sufficient knowledge of philology to be able to fulfil their task in a satisfactory way. It is also indisputable that this study to a great extent encourages dilettantism.

Two general points in which English place-name scholars have laid themselves open to criticism are the following: 1) the importance of the dialects as a factor in the development of the names seems entirely neglected; 2) insufficient attention is paid to geographical and topographical considerations. Moreover, many scholars content themselves with an inadequate collection of material, which naturally must also affect the reliability of their conclusions. On the other hand, however, it is evident that in this subject there are many points which are too difficult and uncertain to be settled, in spite of all attempts at thoroughness. Many names, for instance, contain Celtic elements, which are most often impossible to explain, but even Germanic elements may be very difficult to identify, when, as is some-

times the case, the old forms are unsatisfactory. Another fact which renders this study so difficult is the intimate connection of place-names with personal names, the study of the latter belonging to a quite different department of philology.

In this work are discussed all Wiltshire place-names given in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer of the British Isles* [ed. 1911], of which forms, previous to A. D. 1500, have been found¹. As for the material, which was collected partly in the Library of the British Museum, partly at the Univ. Library in Uppsala, I have had recourse to all those OE and ME documents which seemed to be valuable for this purpose; (in addition to those documents that are to be found in the bibliography, several others were searched which, however, proved to be valueless). In this I have endeavoured to get as many different spellings as possible represented (very corrupt forms have been left out), and for this reason the collection of material may claim to be fairly complete. In this part of the work, however, much difficulty arose over the question of identification. The editors of the ME documents are as a rule very accurate in this respect, though one may occasionally discover mistakes, and Jones' identifications especially seem carefully thought out. Kemble's identifications of the names in CD, on the other hand, are far from satisfactory. Among the numerous mistakes in the index to this work there are also startling inconsistencies, such as when two adjacent places in the same charter are located in entirely different parts of a county, nay even in quite different counties. The few mistakes made by Birch in CS are of a far less serious nature. It may be pointed out that Birch sometimes gives an identity as certain on the strength merely of an OE

¹ As an additional source I have used the 1-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey. The names which do not occur in Bartholomew are, however, few in number.

form, when there is no confirmation from boundaries, etc. As, however, the OE charters are more carefully rendered by Birch in his CS, I have found it convenient to use this edition (up to A. D. 975), the versions of other editors (which in CS occur in foot-notes) being given in brackets. It is, however, an unfortunate fact that most of these forms, like the charters themselves, are not genuine but ME falsifications of the originals. Finally, as regards the names in the AS Chr., the question of their modern equivalents is, as is well known, to a great extent unsettled. The duty of a philologist with regard to the solution of these problems is naturally to put forward the philological considerations in any contested case.

The place-names of Wiltshire have not been subjected to any scientific investigation before, with the exception of a few names, which have been discussed more or less cursorily in other works, e. g. *Cricklade* by Duignan (Notes on Staffs. Pl. Ns, p. 116), *Devizes* by Zachrisson (*Anglia* XXXIV, p. 319), *Malmesbury* by Miller (*Quellen u. Forschungen*, Heft 78).

It is my pleasant duty to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have assisted me in carrying out my work. Above all I am indebted to Professor Erik Björkman, my teacher in English philology, for invaluable advice on various points and for the great interest he has always taken in my English studies. For many helpful suggestions my acknowledgements are also due to Mr Henry Alexander, Lector at the University of Uppsala, who has, in addition, revised my treatise from a stylistic point of view. Finally, I beg to thank all those who have informed me about dialectal, topographic, and other local matters, which it has been necessary for me to know, and especially Rev.

E. H. Goddard, Swindon, Secr. of Wilts. Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Soc., Mr J. R. Taylor, Headmaster of Marlborough College, Mr J. C. Longstaff, Holt, and Dr J. Kjederqvist, Stockholm.

Uppsala, May 1917.

Einar Ekblom.

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Asser = Asser's Life of King Alfred (together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser); ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford 1904.

Bede = Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*; ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford 1896.

Birch = See *CS*.

Br. Mus. = Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts British Museum. Vol. I ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley, London 1900; Vol. II ed. H. J. Ellis, London 1912.

Cal. France = Calendar of documents, preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland; vol. I. A. D. 918—1206; ed. J. H. Round. London 1899.

C. Inq. = Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents, prepared under the superint. of the Dep. Keeper of the Records (Hen. III.—Edw. III., Hen. VII.). London 1898 etc.

Cal. Inq. = Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetorum (Hen. III.—Rich. III.). Rec. Com. 1806—28.

Cal. inq. da. = Calendarium — — — inquisitionum ad quod damnum. See *Cal. Rot. Ch.*

Cal. Rot. Ch. = Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum (1199—1483) et inquisitionum ad quod damnum (1307—1461). Rec. Com. 1803.

CS = Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating

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III. Maps.

- Pearson's historical maps, see above, p. XIV.
- Cary's New English Atlas; ed. J. Cary. London 1809.
- The 1-inch Ordnance Survey Maps of Wiltshire.
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Abbreviations (not given above).

acc.	= accusative.
AN	= Anglo-Norman.
Angl.	= Anglian.
AS	= Anglo-Saxon.
Beds.	= Bedfordshire.
Berks.	= Berkshire.
Bucks.	= Buckinghamshire.
Cambs.	= Cambridgeshire.
Cumb.	= Cumberland.
dat.	= dative.
Dors.	= Dorset.
E. R. of Yorks.	= East Riding of Yorkshire.
f. (fem.)	= feminine.
gen.	= genitive.
Glos.	= Gloucestershire.
Hants.	= Hampshire.
Herts.	= Hertfordshire.
Hunts.	= Huntingdonshire.
Lancs.	= Lancashire.
Lat.	= Latin.
Leics.	= Leicestershire.
m. (masc.)	= masculine.
ME	= Middle English.
MLG	= Middle Low German.
mod.	= modern.
mun. bor.	= municipal borough.
n.	= neuter.
NE	= New English.
Northants.	= Northamptonshire.
Notts.	= Nottinghamshire.
OE	= Old English.
OF	= Old French.
OHG	= Old High German.

XVIII

Oxf.	= Oxfordshire.
p. n(s)	= personal name(s).
pl. n(s)	= place-name(s).
prim. Germ.	= primitive Germanic.
Scand.	= Scandinavian.
Soms.	= Somerset.
Staffs.	= Staffordshire.
Warws.	= Warwickshire.
Wilts.	= Wiltshire.
Wores.	= Worcestershire.
W. R. of Yorks.	= West Riding of Yorkshire.
WS	= West Saxon.

Introduction.

Wiltshire is an inland county, situated in the south-western part of England, S of the upper Thames. In Old English times it consequently belonged to the territory of the West-Saxon dialect. The following old references to the name of the county may be quoted: [A. D. 800] *Wilsætān*, *mid Wilsætum* AS Chr. [Ā], *Wilsæte* ib. [E]; [870] *Wiltunscire* ib. [Ā] (interpolated); [878] *Wilsætān* ib. [Ā], *Willsæte* ib. [E]; 940—46 †¹ *in wiltschire* CS no. 817; 955 *to Wiltunscire* ib. no. 912; [981] *on Wiltunscire* AS Chr. [C]; [994] *Wiltunscire* ib. [Ā]; 996—1006 *to Wiltunescire* CD no. 716; [1003] *of Wiltun scire* AS Chr. [E]; 1086 *Wiltescire* DB; 1160 *Wiltescyr* Macray; 1196 *Wiletesc̃r* Feet of fines; 1215 *in Willtesire* Rot. Ch.; 1237 *Wyltys'* Cl. R; 1317 *on Wiltun scire* Ch. R; c. 1540 *Whilेशir(e)* (several times) Leland.

The oldest name was consequently *Wilsætān*, *Wilsæte*, which denoted 'the settlers on the Wiley-stream'. Of these two forms, the former is the genuine one [< prim. Germ. **-sætjon-*; cf. OHG *-sāzo*, OLG (*land*)*sētio*]. *Wilsæte* is, in its turn, to be considered as a secondary formation on the analogy of such names as *Dene*, *Engle*, *Seaxe*, etc. If this original form had been able to develop normally, the modern name would consequently have been **Wilset* (in the same way as the adjoining counties in the west and south are called Somerset and Dorset). Like most counties, however, Wilt-

¹ The sign (†) indicates that the name before which it appears is not genuine but a later (ME) rendering.

shire, came to be called after its chief town Wilton, and the change of the name has certainly taken place in the later OE period (probably before A. D. 1000).

This would perhaps be the place to give a summary account of the antiquities, history, and topography of the county, things with which place-names are often so intimately connected, but as these subjects are thoroughly dealt with in other places¹, I have contented myself with calling attention to such points only in connection with those names which for one reason or another demand it. It is, however, all the more necessary to state what the present investigation has discovered about the ancient colonization of the county. That the Normans in their time were predominant in these parts is shown not only by the abundance of French family names, which occur as distinctive names, but also from the strong influence that their language has exercised on the place-names. In the treatment of this part of the subject I have in most cases been able to refer to Zachrisson's work 'A Contribution to the Study of AN Infl. on Engl. Pl. Ns', which has proved most valuable. But I think that the present treatise will also contribute some additional material to Zachrisson's own collection. Attention may here be drawn to a few cases of AN influence, which are of particular interest (for further information on these names see below): *Devizes*, derived from OFrench *devises* (plur. of *devise* = 'boundary'); the form *Graveling(es)*, which was current in ME as a variant of *Gravele*, mod. Grovely [prob. < **græfan lēah* (lēaze)], due to the influence of *Gravelines*, the sea-port on the other side of the Channel. Note also such names as: *Bushton* (< **bisc(e)opes tūn*), *Groundwell* [< **grinde- (grinda-?) wyll(e)*], *Landford* (< **se langa ford*),

¹ e. g. in R. C. Hoare: *The Ancient History of Wiltshire*, London 1812—21; *The Magazine of Wilts. Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*; *Devizes*, 1854 —; F. R. Heath: *Wiltshire*, London 1911.

Roundway (prob. < **Hringan weȝ*), and *Winkfield* [< **Wines* (*Winan*?) *feld*], in which the alteration of the first elements has been occasioned by AN spelling and pronunciation.

Dunkirk (a hamlet near Devizes) is a name borrowed from *Dunkerque* [*Dunkirk*] (in the present French Flanders) and therefore probably introduced by Flemings.

Continental p. ns occurring as first elements in Wilts. pl. ns are: *Blund* (in *Blunsdon*), *Boia* (*Boyton*), *Cort* [*Cor(ting)ton*], *Elias*? (*Elston*), (*)*Fallard* (*Faulstone*), *Flambard* (*Flamston*), *Heppo* (**Heppa*?) [*Hippenscombe*], *Oda* (*Odstock*, probably), *Radbod* (*Rabson*)¹.

The Scand. elements in Wilts. pl. ns are limited to a number of p. ns; apart from these, as is to be expected from the situation of the county, no Scand. influence whatever has been traced. The only word which might be taken as Scand. is *brink* (in *Brinkworth*), although it is very doubtful if we are justified in assuming this. The most certain of the Scand. p. ns occurring here are: **Aska* (< *Aski*) [in *Axford*], **Buter* (*Butr*) [*Buttermere*], *Estrið* (*Heytesbury*), *Gamel* (or **Gamela*) [*Gomeldon*], *Grim* (*Grims Ditch*, *Grimstead*), *Hacun* (*Haxton*), **Kale* (*Kali*) [*Calstone*], *Raf(e)n* (*Ramsbury*), *Rolf* (*Rollestone*), *Tola* (< *Toli*) [*Tollard*], **Ugga* (< *Uggi*) [*Ugford*]. Several of these names have no doubt been introduced by the Normans, but some of them probably also go back to the time of the Danish Kings, when Scand. p. ns may have gained ground even in those parts of England which had earlier remained quite untouched by Scand. influence. But a Scand. settlement in the real sense of the word seems never to have existed in Wilts.

Finally it must be noticed that a not unimportant Celtic element seems to have survived in these parts even after

¹ Only three of these names are Romance: *Blund*, *Elias*, and probably *Fallard*; one is Celtic, viz. *Boia*; all the others Germanic.

the Germanic tribes had settled down there, for, apart from such names as contain Celtic words which have become current in the English language [e. g. *down* (*don*) and *combe* (*coombe*)], there are about thirty pl. ns in Wilts., which, partly or entirely, are in all probability of Celtic origin. This is really not surprising when we consider the proximity of Wilts. to the Welsh borders. Although it has been impossible for me to interpret most of them, their forms conclusively prove that they cannot be Germanic. Names which in all probability contain Celtic elements are *Braydon*, *Calne*, *Cherhill*, *Cheverell*, *Chute*, *Conock*, *Corston*, *Cricklade*, *Deverill* (see *Brixton Deverill*), *Crudwell*, *Keevil*, *Kellaways*, *Kennet*, *Knook*, *Knogle*, *Preshute*, *Quemerford*, *Quidhampton*, *Savernake*, *Shorncote*, *Stourton*, *Wanborough*, *Warminster*, *Wellow*, and *Wylye* (*Wily*). It is also most probable that some pl. ns conceal p. ns of Celtic origin. Of such p. ns may be mentioned *Cada* (in *Cadnam*, *Catcombe*), *Cead(d)a* (in *Chaddenwicke*) [both probably shortened forms of the Celtic *Cædwalla* and its anglicized variant *Ceadw(e)alla* respectively], and *Peuf* (in *Pewsey*, *Pewsham*). The fact, however, that there existed such a great number of Germanic p. ns as well which defy any attempt at a plausible explanation (I refer especially to the common hypocoristic formations) makes it very dangerous to state that an obscure p. n. is definitely Celtic or Germanic.

Abbotston [locally pronounced æbəst'n]¹ E of Downton. 1272 *Aboteston* Pat. R; 1296 *Abbodesdon* Cl. R; 1316 *Abbodeston* FA; 1338 *Abbesseton* Cal. Inq.; 1348 *Abboteston* ib.; 1404 *Abbeston* Phillipps' fines; 1459 *Abbeston* Cal. Inq.

From an original **abbodes tūn*. OE *tūn*, the commonest of all terminations in English pl. ns., meant 'enclosed place or piece of ground', 'farmstead', 'hamlet'. *-ton* is very often confused with *-don* [< OE *dūn*], and it is therefore sometimes impossible to settle which of them was the primitive element. The contracted ME forms indicate that the modern local pronunciation was already current in ME.

Ablington N of Amesbury.

1086 *Alboldintone* DB; 1223 *Ablinton* Pat. R; 1227 *Ablinton* Ch. R; 1252 *Eblinton* (twice) ib.; 1485, 1487 *Ablyngton* C. Inq.; 1560 *Ablington* Br. Mus.

I derive this name from an original **Eadbealdinga tūn* [= the farmstead of Eadbeald's descendants]. The first *l* in the DB form is certainly a spelling mistake, and *-bold-* (for *bald*) is due to weakened stress. *-in-* is an AN rendering of *-ing-* (see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 137). The initial *a*-vowel implies a shortening either of the original diphthong itself or of *æ* (in the transition period), while in the case of *Eblinton* the shortening is of a later date. This explanation is to be preferred to the one given by Wyld, p. 25, according to whom the *a*-forms are due to shifting of stress in the OE diphthong. It is to be noticed that initial *ēa* in that case

¹ The phonetic transcription used in this work is that of Sweet, given in his *Primer of Spoken English*.

would more probably have become *zea*, *iá* (see Sievers § 212, note 2, and Zachrisson, p. 65); cf. Urchfont (DB *Jerches-fonte*, Pipe R *Archesfunte*), below.

The present name offers an opportunity of discussing those cases in which a medial *-ing*-suffix in pl. ns. occurs uninflected in OE charters (e. g. *Æðiluulfing lond* CS no. 303). Kemble's opinion about such forms [in Proc. of the Philol. Soc. IV] is that this *-ing* has the special function of being the equivalent of the strong gen. ending (consequently *Æðiluulfing* = *Æðiluulfes*). Against this opinion Th. Watts maintains (in the same volume, p. 83) that the *-ing*-form in question is a sort of uninflected adjective analogous to *Pariser*, *Londoner*, etc. in German.

Both these opinions are consequently based on the supposition that these *-ing*-forms were originally uninflected, and this seems also to have been accepted by other scholars. There is, however, strong reason to doubt such strange functions of the *-ing*-suffix, which, in addition, seem to be quite unknown in the other Germanic languages. The fact is that many of those forms on which Kemble bases his theory are taken from charters bearing evident signs of being ME copies (Kemble himself marks several of them in CD as not genuine). Nothing prevents us therefore from considering all of them simply as ME forms of original gen. plurals (*Æðiluulfinga*). Many examples show that this gen. plur. ending may have quite disappeared even as early as in DB (when it survives it is represented by *-e*).

Another curious statement concerning this 'non-inflected' *-ing*-suffix is made by Moorman (Pl. Ns of the W. Riding of Yorks. Introd. p. xli), according to whom it was used in OE instead of the ending *-an* to denote the gen. sing. case of a p. n. of the weak declension. This also has no sound evidence to support it. The fact of the matter is that OE *-an* sometimes develops into *-ing*, a transition which must be due to the analogy of the many pl. ns

containing a patronymic as the first element, but this change did certainly not take place until ME. times (see Alexander, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VII, p. 70).

Consequently, in deciding the etymology of a pl. n. containing as the first element a patronymic of a strong p. n., uninflected even in its oldest forms, we have to assume an original gen. plur. case, but the *ing*-suffix of a weak p. n. may sometimes also be derived from the gen. *-an*.

Alcombe NW of Box.

1496 *Alcombe* C. Inq.

This single ME form does not tell us very much. The original name may have been **Ællan*, [or *Allan*] *cumb*. For the p. ns *Ælla*, *Alla* see Müller, p. 45, and Björkman, *Pers.* I, p. 4, respectively. OE *cumb* (= small valley) is generally supposed to be of Celtic origin. Modern Welsh has *cwm* in the same sense.

Aldbourne N of Ramsbury.

1086 *Aldeborne* DB; 1181 *Aldiburna* Pipe R; 1194 *Aldeburā* Rot. Cur.; 1206 *Aldeburñ* R. L. Cl.; 1214 *Audibrñ* ib.; 1225 *Audiburñ* R. fin. exc.; 1229 *Audiburn* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Aldeburn(e)* T. Eccl.; 1310 *Aldeborne* C. Inq.; 1428 *Aldebourne* FA.

Originally **æt Ealdan* (Angl. *Aldan*) *burne* (*burnan*), referring to the little affluent of the River Kennet on which the place is situated. OE *burn* f., *burne* f., *burna* m. = 'small stream', 'brook'. The first element was certainly the gen. of *Ealda* (*Alda*)¹, which may be regarded either as a nickname meaning 'the old one' or as a shortened form of some p. n. beginning with *Eald-* e. g. *Ealdhelm*, *Ealdred* (or their Angl. equivalents). The OE ending *-an* in the middle of pl. ns is most often weakened to *e* in earliest ME. The present pl. n. indicates that this *e* has been

¹ The possibility that the first element might represent the OE adj. *eald* is certainly out of the question as this would not give a likely meaning.

syncopated before the ME transition of $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$. (For those cases in which the OE *-an-* is retained as *(e)n* or changed into *in*, *ing*, see Alexander, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VII; see also Baynton, below.) *Aude-* shows AN vocalization of *l*.

Alderbury SE of Salisbury.

972 *Ædelware byrig* CS no. 1286 [possibly identical]; 1086 *Alwarberie*, *Alwaresberie* DB; c. 1115 *Alwarbiri* Osmund; 1139? *Alwardberia* Macray; c. 1190 *de Alwardebirie* Osmund; 1194 *de Alwarbrie* Rot. Cur.; 1215—20 *de Alwarburie* Osmund; 1222 *Alwardbur.* ib.; 1243 *Alwarbire* Macray; Hen. III *Aylwardebyr'* Rot. H; 1287 *Alwardesburi* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Alwardbury*, *Aylwardbury*, *Aldewerbury* T. Eccl.; 13th cent. in *Alwardbirie* Liber rub.; 1318 *Aldewardebury* Pat. R.; 1341 *Alrebury* Cal. Rot. Ch.; Edw. III *Alwardesburi* C. Inq.; 1476 *Alewardbury* Cal. Inq.; c. 1540 *Alwardbyri* Leland.

Originally **æt Ædelweardes byriȝ*, or possibly *Ædelware b.* [although **Ædelwaru* (fem.) is not recorded as an independent p. n.]. The development of OE *ædel* in p. ns and pl. ns is discussed by Zachrisson, p. 101 ff.

The series of old forms given above proves that the definitive change of *Alwar(d)- > Alder-* did not take place until NE times, but tendencies in this direction seem to have existed even in ME, judging from the forms quoted from T. Eccl., Liber rub., Pat. R., and Cal. Rot. Ch. This change must be due to analogy with the many pl. ns which contain *Alder-* as the first element. Such a name is found even in the neighbourhood of Alderbury, viz. *Alder(s)ton* (see below). OE *burh* (dat. *byriȝ*) denoted 'a fortified place'. For *e* as a representative of OE *y* in DB see Stolze § 15. The final *e* in *-berie* has been added in analogy with those names in which *-e* in this position represents the OE dat. form.

If the origin **Ædelweardes byriȝ* is correct, the two DB forms are of special interest because they show that the strong gen. -s

might have been dropped here. Doublets of this kind are not rare either in DB or in other ME documents. According to Zachrisson, p. 119, the circumstance that there existed two forms of the gen. in many OE p. ns used as the first element in pl. ns, one with *s*, the other without (*Frodes*—*Frodan*, etc.) may easily have led to confusion and uncertainty in the use of *s* between two pl. n. compounds in general. Alexander (Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 66 f.) gives other explanations which also seem reasonable. Here may be mentioned another circumstance which might have been an even more important cause of the omission of the *s* in question, viz. the fact that the French gen. had no inflectional ending. We may mention such French pl. ns of this type as *Martin-bosc* (A. D. 1130), *Robert-Camp* (A. D. 1181) [quoted from Kornmesser, pp. 53, 47]. Loss of a medial gen. -*s* in English pl. ns may therefore be due to a great extent to the influence of such French names. An original name of the type **Æðelweard byriȝ* is naturally impossible¹. (For the insertion of an inorganic *s* and the omission of a stem *s* in the composition joint see under Corton.)

Note. *æwelburhe* (*heme diche*) CD no. 654 is identified by Kemble with Alderbury, Wilts. The absurdity of this identification is proved by Bradley [Academy, June 2, 1894].

Alder(s)ton near Whiteparish.

1166 *de Aldereston* Pipe R; 1272 *Aderedeston* Pat. R; 1313 *Aldredeston* R Pat.; 1314 *Aldredestone* C. Inq.; 1316 *Aldreston* FA; 1324 *Aldredeston* Pat. R.

From **Ealdredes tūn*, the first element being a common OE p. n.

¹ It seems, however, as if some scholars would admit the possibility of such a form. Thus, Alexander (in Mod. Lang. Rev. VII, p. 67) refers to a suggestion of Prof. Wyld that 'a usage without a gen. ending may be due to the fact that the p. n. was felt to be a sort of adjective qualifying the second element'.

Alderton NW of Grittleton.

1086 *in Aldritone*, *Aldrintone* DB; 1194 *de Aldrintoñ* Rot. Cur.; 1261 *Audinton* Br. Mus.; Edv. I *Aldrynton*, (*in*) *Aldrintone* ib.; c. 1290 *Aderinton* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Audrinton* TN; 1316 *Aldrynton* FA; 1428 *Aldryngton* ib.; 1432 *Alderington* R. Pat.; 1675 *Aldrington* Br. Mus.

The first element evidently contains originally the patronymic of a p. n. beginning with *Eald-* (Angl. *Ald-*) and with a second member beginning with *r*. Only one name of this kind is on record in OE, viz. *Ealdred*, but there may also have existed a p. n. **Ealdric*. *Alderton* is consequently to be derived from **Ealdredinga* (or possibly **Ealdricinga*) *tūn*. A contraction has taken place in this name of exactly the same kind as in *Cholderton*, *Hilperton*; see below. Loss of a medial *-ing-*suffix in pl. ns occurs very often. In the present case, this seems to have taken place far on in NE times, but it is just as commonly lost in ME; cf. e. g. Corton (Cortington), Dinton, Hannington. For *-i-* as representing *-ing-* in DB see Zachrisson, *Stud. i mod. språkv.* V, p. 11.

All Cannings E of Devizes.

1086 *Caninge* DB; 1166 *Chaningis* Pipe R (or = Bishop's Cannings); 1185 *Kanenges* (hundr.) ib.; 1205 *de Aldekanning* R Oblat; *de Aldekanige* Rot. Ch.; *Aldechanigg* R. L. Cl.; 1296 *Allekanynge* Pat. R; 1316 *Alcanninges* FA; 1428 *Cannygges*, *Allecanynge* FA.

In OE times this place was certainly called simply **Caningas* (**æt Caningum*), this name including also Bishop's Cannings, the distinctive names being, as is most often the case, ME additions. **Caningas* is a plur. patronymic of a p. n. **Cana*, recorded in DB [Ellis, *Intr.* II p. 64] in the latinized form *Cano*. The same name occurs in *Canington*, Soms. (1284 *Caninton* FA; 1315 *Canyngtone* C. Inq.).

Pl. ns of the present kind are discussed by Alexander [Essays & Studies II, p. 175 ff.]. According to him the

names in *-ing* (*-inge*) are derived from original oblique cases, either from the gen. plur. (with *-hām*, *-tūn* etc. understood), or from the dat. plur.¹

The epithet was originally the ME adj. *ald* (= old), which, after the loss of *d* between two consonants coincided with *all*. For the AN *ch* as a representative of OE *c* (*k*) see Zachrisson, p. 32 f.

Allington SE of Amesbury.

1086 *Allentone*, *Alentone* DB; 1178? *Aldintona* Br. Mus.; 1199 *in Aldintoñ* Rot. Ch.; 1270 *Alletona*, *Aldintona* Ch. R.; c. 1290 *Aldyngton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Aldynton* FA; 1428 *Aldyngton* ib.; 1486 *Aldyngton* C. Inq.

This name, like the following, goes back to **Ællan* (*Allan*?) *tūn*, or **Ællinga* (*Allinga*) *tūn*. For *Ælla*, *Alla* see under Alcombe. The inorganic *d* of some forms must be due to the influence of the numerous names beginning with *Ald*.

Allington NW of Chippenham.

1316 *Alynton* FA; 1397 *in Alyngtone* Br. Mus.; [n. d.] *de Alyntone* Reg. Malm. See preceding name.

Allington NE of Devizes.

1086 *Adelingtone* DB; 1194 *in Alingeton* Rot. Cur.; 1316 *Alington* FA; 1324, 1428 *Alyngton* ib.

From **Æðelinga* *tūn*; *æðeling* = either a prince, member of a noble family, or a patronymic of the p. n. *Æðel*, **Æðela* (the latter being a pet-form of some name beginning with *Æðel*). Medial OE *ð* is most often rendered by *d* in DB [Stolze § 38]; see also on this point Zachrisson, p. 97 ff.

¹ In the present case, where the absence of *s* is merely occasional, the *s*-less forms may naturally just as well be explained as shortened forms, where the sign (◌) (over the final *g*), representing the ending *-es*, has been omitted (in the same way as the stroke (◌) over *y* representing the following *n* has been left out in one of the FA forms).

Alton Barnes or Berners } NW of Pewsey.
Alton Priors

1086 *Aultone* [= A. B.], *Awlton* [= A. P.] DB; 1189 *Aulton* Br. Mus.; 1284 *Aulton* Ch. R.; c. 1290 *de Aultone Berners*, *de Aultone Prioris* T. Eccl.; Edw. I in *Aweltun' Berner* Rot. H.; early 14th cent. *Awelton Prioris* TN; 1316 *Aulton Bernes* FA; 1428 *Aulton (Berners)*, *Aulton Prioris* ib.

From **ēa-wyll-tūn*. A little tributary of the East Avon rises here. The WS compound **ēa-wyll(e)* [Angl. **ǣ-wæll*, **ǣ-well*] is to be taken quite literally as 'the source of a brook or river', not simply 'river' as Middendorff states, p. 9. Cf. *Alton*, Hants. (near the source of the River Wey), which occurs as *Æweltune* CS no. 390. For the initial *a* see p. 5 (under Ablington).

'Berner' is an AN family name (see Bardsley), and 'Bar-nes' in the present case can hardly be anything but a corruption of this name. Alton Priors formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Swithun at Winchester; see Ch. R II, p. 288.

Alton N of Amesbury.

1086 *Eltone* DB; 1281 *Alletona* Br. Mus.; c. 1290 *de Aletone* T. Eccl.; 1310 *Aleton* Ch. R.; 1316 *Aleton* FA; 1361 *Aleton* Cl. R.; 1428 *Alton* FA.

Probably from **Ællan tūn*, the first element being the gen. of the p. n. *Ælla*, for which see Müller, p. 45. For the representation of OE *æ* by *e* in DB see Stolze § 4.

Alvediston SSE of Tisbury.

1166 *de Alfwieteston Abb̃tisse* Pipe R; King John *Alvitheston* Abbr. Plac.; 1222 *Alvitheston* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1271 *Alvedeston* C. Inq.; 1287 *Albedeston* ib.; c. 1290 *Alvedestone* T. Eccl.; 1312 *Alvedstone* Cal. inq. da.; 1336 *Alfedeston* Cal. Inq.; 1359 *Alvideston* Cl. R.; 1428 *Alveston* (twice) FA.

The first element was certainly the p. n. **Ælfhæþ*, recorded as *Alfeth* in CS no. 641, and as *Ælfeth* in DB [Ellis, Intr. II p. 5]. The transition of the medial *-th-* into the corresponding explosive is in the present case hardly to be explained either as an AN substitution or as a dialectal development [see Zachrisson p. 97 ff.]. It may rather be due to the difficulty of pronouncing two fricative consonants next to each other (*th* and *s*). Cf. the transition of *gh* > *g* in *Brigmerston*, *χ* > *k* in *Brixton*, *th* > *t* in *Ratfyn*. As to *t* for *th* in the Pipe R form see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. *b* for *v*, a not uncommon mistake in ME mss. as well as the reverse, is due to the similarity between these letters.

According to Jones, p. 204, this place was included in the large estate at Chalk [Bower Ch. and Broad Ch.] which in 955 was granted to the abbey at Wilton (CS no. 917). Hence the distinctive name in Pipe R.

Amesbury or Ambresbury [*eimzberi*].

858 †*Amberesburg* CS no. 495; 880—85 †*æt Ambres byrig* ib. no. 553; 932 †*Ambresburch* ib. no. 691; 972 †*hambres buruh* ib. no. 1286; [995] †*Ambresbyri* AS Chr. [F]; 1086 *Amblesberie*, *Ambresberie* DB; 1205 *Ambresber'* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1215 *Ambresbyre* Macray; 1223 *Ambresbirie* Osmund; 1227 *Amesbury*, *Ambresburi* Ch. R; 1242 *Aumberbiry* Pat. R; 1248 *Ambesbire* Macray; 1265 *Ambrebiry* Pat. R; 1267 *Ambesbyre* Macray; *Ambrosebury* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1270 *Aunbresbyry* Pat. R; 1290 *Amesbury* Ch. R; 1322 *Great Aumbresburi* C. Inq.; 1331 *Aunbresbury* (four times) ib.; 1335 *Ambresburye Magna* Cal. Inq.; *Amesbury* Ch. R; 1428 *Magna Ambresbury*, *Parva* A. FA; 1485 *Amysbury* C. Inq.; 1487 *Ammesbury* ib.; 1495 *Ambesbury* ib.

This place is traditionally connected with the Roman leader Aurelius Ambrosius mentioned in Gildas, Beda, Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Although a derivation of this pl. n. from *Ambrosius* would not infringe philological

laws, yet there is much doubt about such an etymology. Tradition is after all too unreliable to have much weight in deciding the etymology of a pl. n. But there is no doubt that the first element was a p. n., and if this name was Germanic, it may have been *Eammer* (< **Eanmer*) or possibly *Eanbeorht*. The second element was OE *byriȝ* (dat. of *burh*). As to *l* for *r* in one of the DB forms see Zachrisson, p. 142 ff. Other pl. ns with a similar first element are *Amberley*, Sussex (see Roberts, Pl. Ns of Sussex), *Ambrosden* Oxfs. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.), *Ombersley*, Worcs. (see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Worcs.), and *Ambrosetown*, Wexford.

Anstey or Ansty SSE of Tisbury.

1086 *Anestige* DB; 1224 *Anesty* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1245 *Ansteya* Macray; 1251 *of Anesty* Ch. R; Edw. I *Anesty*, *Alnesty* Rot. H; 1316 *Anestigh* FA; 1428 (*in*) *Anstye*, (*de*) *Anstie* ib.

Originally *æt [pæm] ānstīȝan. The OE compound, *ānstīȝa, which is only found in oblique cases, meant 'narrow path (passage)' [cf. OW Scand. *einstigi* = 'a path, so narrow that only one can pass']. In the Epinal Glosses the word occurs as a translation of *termofilas* (see *thermiphilæ*, Du Cange), consequently denoting 'a narrow passage between hills', but Middendorff's conclusion from this single case that it could only have that sense seems too hazardous to be trusted. In the case of the present name, there is no topographical evidence to support the latter meaning. As to the intrusive *l* in *Alnesty* see Zachrisson, p. 150.

[Ashgrove SE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).]

This name has been inserted only on account of Thorpe's identification of *Æscgraf* p. 443 with this place. There seems, however, nothing to support this statement. Ashgrove may be a comparatively new name, and its sense is in that case obvious.]

Ashley NE of Tetbury (Glos.).

1086 *Esselie* DB; 1194 *Esselega* Rot. Cur.; 1222 *Asseleg* Macray; c. 1290 *Ashle* T. Eccl.; 1341 *Asshesleghe* Br. Mus. (prob. identical); [n. d.] *de Hasselleye, de Asseleye, Esseleye, Aisseleye, de Eshleye* Reg. Malm.; 1428 *Asshele* FA.

Originally *æt [pām, pære] æsc- lēaze ('ash-tree meadow') or *æt Æscan lēaze, Æsca being probably a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with Æsc-, of which there are a great number. OE *lēah*, m. and f., is most common in pl. ns, in compounds as well as by itself. The OE nom. gives modern *lea*, *leigh*.

Aiss- for *Ass-* is inverted spelling; see Luick, *Anglia* XVI, p. 505 ff. For the AN rendering of OE *sc* (f) with *s*, *ss* see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Ashley near Box.

Hen. III in *Asseleye, in Hasseleye* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Asshele* FA.
See above.

Ashley, Great and **Little** NW of Bradford.

1492 *Aissheley* Cal. Inq.; 1494 *Assheley* C. Inq.
See above.

Ashton Gifford SE of Heytesbury.

1247 *Ayston* C. Inq.; 1281 *Aihston* Ch. R; 1316 (*de*) *Ashetone* FA; 1327 *of Asshetone, Ashtone, Asshton* C. Inq.; 1357 *Ash-tone Giffard* Cal. Inq.

Either from *æsc- tūn or *Æscan tūn. 'Gifford' (Giffard) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 336.

Ashton Keynes W of Cricklade.

1086 *Essitone* DB; 1281 *Aston, Ayston(e)* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Ashtone* FA; 1404 *Assheton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Assheton* FA.

See preceding name. 'Keynes' (Kaines) is a family name, according to Bardsley probably Norman.

Ashton, West SE of Trowbridge.

1256 in *Westaston* R. fin. exc.; 1485 *West Aisshton, Ashton* C. Inq.

There are three neighbouring Ashtons here, which certainly were originally one and the same estate. The other two are called Rood Ashton and Steeple Ashton. For further information see Steeple Ashton.

Atworth NW of Melksham.

1001 †*at Attenwrthe* CD no. 706; 1316 *de Atteworthe* FA; 1324 *Ateworth* ib.; 1352 *Ateworth* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *Atteworth Cotell* FA; 1404 *Little Cotels*, alias *Cotels Atteward* Cat. AD; 1428 *Cotelatteword*, *Parva Atteworth* FA; 1489 *Atward* C. Inq.; 1495 *Atteworth*, *Cotteles Atteward* ib.

Originally **Attan weorþ* (*worþ*, *wurþ*, *wyrþ*). *Atta* is a p. n. which, apart from its occurrence in pl. ns, is recorded on English territory in LVD; see Müller § 37. OE *weorþ* = 'homestead', 'habitation with surrounding land', 'property'. The termination *-ward* indicates weakened stress. 'Cotel(s)' is according to Hildebrand, p. 334, a French family name.

Many scholars would perhaps be inclined to derive the present name from an original **æt þām weorðe*. Moorman, for instance, is of opinion that *Attercliffe*, W. R. of Yorks, goes back to OE **æt þām clife*. There is, however, strong reason to doubt an etymology of this kind, because there is not a single authenticated case of the total coalescence of the OE preposition and article with the pl. n. itself¹. The first element of *Attercliffe* can hardly have been anything but the p. n. *Atta* (*r* is intrusive as appears from the old forms quoted by Moorman). Cf *Atherstone*, *Atherstone* (*-on-Stour*), Warws., which contain the p. ns. *Eadred*, *Eadric* respectively (see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws.), *Atherton*, Lancs., probably containing the p. n. *Atser* (see Wyld), and *Attenborough*, Notts., containing the p. n. *Eada* (see Mutschmann). If the OE prep. and article in question had possessed such

¹ Zachrisson, *Anglia* XXXIV, p. 350 f., calls attention to a few cases in which the final consonant of the OE article *þām* > ME *then* has been prefixed to a pl. n. beginning with a vowel (although most of these names, in my opinion, may equally probably have got their initial consonant from the prep. *in*).

great vitality as Moorman ascribes to them, they would certainly have survived rather frequently in those modern pl. ns which consist of a single subst.

Note. The places mentioned in CD no. 706 are, with two or three exceptions, located by Kemble in Dorset. It is, however, quite evident that several of them are situated in Wilts., viz. †*Attenwrthe*, †*Bradeforda* (= Bradford-on-Avon), †*Broctúne* (= Broughton Gifford), †*Chaldfelde* (= Chalfield), †*Cosehám* (= Corsham), †*Farnléghe* (= Monkton Farleigh), †*Heselberi* (Hazelbury), and †*Wítlége* (= Whitley), all of which are situated at a short distance from each other.

Avebury or **Abury** (*ei(v)bəri*) W of Marlborough.

1086 *de Avreberie* DB; 1114 *Avesbiria* Cal. France; 1189 *Aveberia* ib.; 1194 *Auebia* Rot. Cur.; 1227 *Avebure* Ch. R.; 1232 *Avebiri* ib.; 1253 *Avesberia* ib.; Hen. III *Avene(s)bur*, [corrupt] Rot. H; 1256 *Avesbyry* Pat. R.; 1316 *Avebury* FA; 1404 *Avesbury* Cal. Inq.

Originally **æt Afan byriȝ*, *Afa* being recorded as an OE p. n. In some of the ME forms an *s* has been inserted through the influence of pl. ns, the first elements of which have the strong gen. ending. The first *r* in the DB form stands for *n*, this substitution being due to AN influence (see Zachrisson, p. 141, where several analogous cases are given).

Avon on the Lower Avon NE of Chippenham.

688 (*juxta flumen*) *Avene* (*Abon*, *Avon*) CS no. 71; 940 *be Afene* ib. no. 752; 1065 *Auene (terra)* CD no. 817; 1194 *de Auene* Rot. Cur.; 1262 *of Havene* Ch. R.

Avon is a Celtic word (*abonā*) meaning 'stream', 'river'; see Stokes, p. 10, and Holder. An unetymological *h* initially before a vowel often occurs in the ME forms of Wilts. names, just as an initial *h* of the stem may have been omitted (cf. Etchilhampton, Hacklestone, Heddington, Hippenscombe, Oakhill, Upavon, etc.). As far as I have been informed, a certain irregularity in this respect exists in different parts

of the county, but the misuse of initial *h* seems nowhere to be universal enough to form a dialectal characteristic; see also Kjederqvist §§ 23, 213. In many forms, however, the addition or loss of *h* may naturally as well be an AN feature.

Axford ENE of Marlborough.

1184 *in Axford* Pipe R; 1217 *Axford* Pat. R; 1226 *Axford* Osmund; 1288 *Axford* C. Inq.; 1428 *Axford* FA.

If the first element is Germanic¹, there can only be one derivation: owing to the fact that the combination *sk* in East Wilts. is often represented by *ks*, *x* [*basket* often occurs as *baxet*, *ask* as *ax* (< OE *acsian*, see Kjederqvist § 210), cf. also *Wexcombe*, below] we are entitled to assume a p. n. **Aska* (< Scand. *Ask*) as the first element. Under the influence of the above-mentioned dialectal peculiarity, an original **Askan ford* would give *Axford*, in the same way as **west-cumb* (after the loss of *t*) has given *Wexcombe* (the termination being retained even after the metathesis).

Badbury SE of Swindon.

955 †*Baddebury*, †*de Baddeborwe* CS no. 904 (prob. identical); 1086 *Badeberie* DB; 1280 *Baddebyr* Ch. R; Edw. I *Baddebury*, *Badebery* Plac. Warr.; 1324 *Baddebury* FA; 1330 *Baddebury* Ch. R; 1428 *Badebury* FA.

Originally **æt Bad(d)an byriz*, *Bad(d)a* being probably a pet-formation of such names as *Badufriþ* (*Beadufriþ*), *Bad(u)heard* [*Bead(u)heard*], *Badumund*; see Müller, pp. 46, 117.

Bapton near Wylke.

1220 *Babinton* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1311 *Babyngton* C. Inq.; 1316 *Babington* FA; 1329 *Babeton* C. Inq.; 1362 *Babeton* Br. Mus.; 1413 *Babbeton* ib.

¹ This is most probably the case. There is certainly a river name *Axe* in England which is most likely Celtic, but the Kennet on which Axford lies is not known to have ever had any other name.

From **Babban* (or *Babbinga*) *tūn*, *Babba* being an OE p. n.; cf. Baverstock. *b* has become unvoiced through assimilation with the following *t*.

Barbury (Castle) E of Broad Hinton.

[556] *æt Beran byrig* AS Chr. ms. E [possibly identical]; 1252 *Berebyre* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Berbury* FA.

The place where Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons in 556 is located by Thorpe and Plummer (in their editions of AS Chr.) at Barbury Camp, Wilts. Whether this is correct or not is doubtful, but it is most probable that the original form of Barbury was the same as that of the AS Chr. **Bera* is probably a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with *Ber-* e. g. *Beruulf* (in LVD, see Müller, p. 92), **Berweald* (*Beruoldus* Ellis, Intr. II, p. 295); but it may perhaps also have existed as an independent name (applied to a man famed for his strength). The same name occurs in *Ætberanforda* CS no. 264.

‘Castle’, which is the general word for ancient protective earthworks and hill forts, refers to the ancient fortifications here, remnants of which are still to be found. There are a great number of such ‘Castles’ in Wilts. e. g. Bratton C., Liddington C., Oldbury C., Yarnbury C.

Barford St. Martin W of Wilton.

1086 *Bereford* DB; 1250 *Bereford* C. Inq.; 1286 *Bereford* Ch. R (prob. identical); 1304 *Berevord St. Martin* ib.; 1316 *Bereford* FA; early Edw. III *Barford St. Martin* Br. Mus.; 1335 *Bereford St. Martin’s* C. Inq.; 1428 *Ber(e)ford* FA; 1493 *Berford St. Martin* C. Inq.

This name goes back either to **Beran ford* (see preceding name) or to **bere-ford* ‘the ford by the barley(-field). ‘St. Martin’ is the name of a church.

Barford (Park) N of Downton.

1086 *Bereford* DB; 1428 *Bereford* FA.

See preceding name.

Bathamton, Great and Little [*bəp(h)émt'n* or *bed(h)émt'n*] on the r. Wiley close to Fisherton Delamere.

1194 *de Bathātoñ* Rot. Cur.; 1229 *Bathamton* Pat. R.; c. 1270 *Bathampton* Macray; early 14th cent. *Bathamewily* TN; 1316 *Bathehampton* FA; 1328 *Bathamwyly* C. Inq.; 1367 *Batametoune Wyley* Phillipps' fines; 1402 *Bathampton* FA; 1428 *Badampton* ib.; c. 1430 *Batampton* Br. Mus.

Hampton, which occurs so frequently both in compounds and alone in English pl. names, goes back either to OE *hām-tūn* (this seems to be the most usual origin), which may have been analogous in meaning with OE *hām-stede* (home-stead), or to *hēan tūne* (dat.) [like *Hampton*, Wores. which occurs as (æt) *Hean tune* CS no. 235]. In this case, however, the low situation of the place excludes the latter possibility (cf. *Beckhampton*, *Ditchampton*, *Etchilhampton*? below, in which *-hampton* has a quite exceptional origin). The pronunciation 'bed'- of the first element is due to weakened stress. Names in *-hampton* are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable.

Whether the epithet *Bath-* formed part of the original name or not, it is impossible to say.

Baverstock [*bævə(r)stōk*] W of Wilton.

968 (†)æt *Babanstoce* Reg. Wilt.; 1086 *Babestoche* DB; 1230 in *Babestok* Cl. R.; c. 1290 *Babbestok* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Babestok* FA.

The first element is the p. n. *Babba*, which occurs also in the adjacent *Bapton*. The late change of *b > v* and the insertion of *r* may be due to the analogy of *Laverstock*, a parish not far from here (though the change of *b > v* may be partly a dissimilatory process).

Stock as a first element in pl. ns is as a rule derived from OE *stoc(c)* [< prim. Germ. **stokko-z*], e. g. OE *stoc(c)-tūn* = 'an enclosure fenced in by stocks or posts' (in the same way as *stān-tūn* may denote 'an encl. fenced in by stones').

As a second element, however, and when occurring uncompounded as a pl. n., in which cases it also occurs as *stoke*, it certainly represents OE *stoc* [< prim. Germ. **stoko-z*] (*stoke* from the OE dat. form); the few OE references to this word, apart from pl. ns, are quoted by Napier, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. 1903—06, p. 323, and Swaen, Engl. Stud. 37, p. 191. Note also (*I faderr*) *stoke*, Ormulum 9778, and *stokess* (plur.) ib. 1049, 15694. The meaning of this word seems to have been much the same as OE *stede*, *stōw* (in Ormulum the word means 'place')¹.

Attention may here be called to the serious mistake in Bosworth-Toller (and Swaen) of assuming an OE *stōc* as the origin of *stock*, *stoke*; for even though the nom. form might have given NE *stock* (by shortening), the OE dat. form would never have given NE *stoke*, but **stook*. It is also quite impossible to assume, as scholars generally do, an OE **stoce* as a dat. form of *stoc(c)*, as double consonants could not be simplified in the spelling of oblique cases.

Note. Middendorff's opinion (which seems to be adopted from Jellinghaus) that OE *stoc(c)* in pl. ns indicates 'eine Örtlichkeit mit den Resten eines abgeholzten Waldes' can hardly be correct. It is obvious that OE *stoc(c)-wudu* denotes a place where a wood had been cut down, in the same way as *stoc(c)-lēah* may be 'a meadow with stumps of trees', but there is no reason to assume that *stoc(c)* alone could have that sense. Nor is it possible to adopt the suggestion of Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 320, repeated in Förstemann, Ortsn. p. 896, that OE *stoc(c)* as a first element in pl. ns could mean 'Stamm', 'Geschlecht', denoting that the place in question would be 'die Mutterstadt eines Distriktes'.

¹ Curiously enough, the element in question, which is so prevalent in Engl. place-nomenclature, seems to be entirely absent in the pl. ns of the other Germanic countries. For the few German names in which *stock* occurs as a second element or uncompounded, see Förstemann, Ortsn. p. 896. In Scand. pl. ns it does not seem to occur as a second element at all. For its further occurrence see e. g. Rygh, Forord og Indledn. p. 79.

Baycliff S of Horningsham.

early Hen. III in *Bayleclive* Br. Mus.; 1316 *de Baylleschyve* FA; 1386 in *Bayleschyfe* Cat. A. D.; 1428 *Baileclyf* FA.

The most probable etymology is **Bēazeles* (*Bēazelan*) *clif*, *Bēazel(a)* being a diminutive form of **Bēaza*, a pet-form of such p. ns as *Bēazmund*, *Bēazstan*; see Müller, p. 78.

Note. *Baildon*, W. Riding of Yorks., probably contains the same first element as the name above. Moorman's suggestions on this name seem too improbable to be trusted. *Baycliff*, Lancs. is of a quite different origin; see Wyld.

Baydon N of Ramsbury.

1146 *Beidona* Macray; 1226 *Beidon* Osmund; 1294 *Beydon* Ch. R; 1316 *Bedon* FA.

I suggest an original **Bēazan dūn*. For **Bēaza* see preceding name. OE *dūn* (NE *down*) is generally supposed to be of Celtic origin. *Bedon* (FA) may be an example of the AN spelling habits of rendering *ai*, *ei* by *e*, mentioned by Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkv. V. p. 16.

Baynton NE of Westbury.

1185 *de Beinton*' Pipe R; 1330 *Benton* Cl. R., C. Inq.; 1428 *Beynton* FA; [n. d.] *de Beyntone* Reg. Malm.

This name seems to contain the same first element as *Baydon* and is consequently to be derived from **Bēazan tūn*. For the retention of *-n-* cf. *Bincknoll*, *Cadnam*, *Chippenham*, *Harnham*, *Mildenhall*, *Newnton*, etc., below. The fact that OE *-an* in these names had two different functions — being in some cases the gen. ending of a weak p. n., in others the dat. ending of an adjective — was naturally in sufficient to prevent a development on similar lines.

Beanacre [bi(ɣ)neikə(r)] N of Melksham.

1261 *Benacr*' R fin. exc.; 1286 *Benacre* Ch. R; Edw. I *Benakere* Rot. H; *Beneacre* Abbr. Plac.

'Bean-field'. OE *æcer* meant 1) 'a piece of tilled land, a field'; 2) 'a definite measure of land, originally as much as a yoke of oxen could plough in a day' (NED). The OE compound **beanland* (*beanlandes*) occurs in CD no. 724.

Beckhampton (— —) near Avebury.

1086 *Bachentune* DB; 1199? *de Bachamtoñ* Rot. Cur.; Hen. III *Bechampton* Abbr. Plac.; 1240—45 *de Bachamptone* Macray; 1266 *Bechampton* Pat. R; 1314 *Bachamptone* C. Inq.; 1316 *Bakhampton* FA; 1428 *Bachampton* ib.; 1485 *Bakehamton* C. Inq.; 1493 *Bakehampton* ib.; 1596 *Backhampton* Br. Mus.

Originally **Bac(c)an tūn*, *Bac(c)a* being an OE p. n., recorded in LVD, see Müller, p. 46. *-an + tūn* was, however, soon associated with the common name element *ham(p)ton*, and, in accordance with such names, the stress has here also been shifted to the syllable *-ham-*; hence *Back-* > *Beck-*.

Bedwyn, Great and Little SW of Hungerford (Berks.).

778 (†) *Bedewinde*, (†) *in bedewindan* CS no. 225; 803—805 (†) *Bedewinde* ib. no. 324; 880—85 (†) *æt Bedewindan* ib. no. 553, p. 178; (†) *Bedewynde* ib. no. 554, p. 182; 968 (†) *Bedewinde*, (to) *Bed(e)uuindan* ib. no. 1213 (prob. identical); Æthelred (†) *Bedewinde* CD no. 1312; (n. d.) (†) *Bedewinde* CD no. 941 (possibly identical); 1086 *Bedvinde* (twice), *ad Bedvine* DB; 1158 *of Bedewinde* Osmund; 1177 *Estbedewinda* (= Little Bedw.) Pipe R; 1194 *Bedewinde* Rot. Cur.; 1199 *Bedewyna* Cat. Rot. Ch.; 1230—40 *Bedewind* Macray; 1234 *Bidewind* Cl. R; 1310 *Estbedewynde* C. Inq.; 1376 *Bydwynde* Cal. Inq.; 1441 *Westbedwynd* Br. Mus.; 1484 *Bedewen* ib.

This can hardly be anything but the plant-name *bedwine* or *bedwind*, which exists as a dialect word in Wilts. and other southern counties indicating some common species of 'Convolvulus'; see EDD. cf. Swedish *vinda*, German *Winde*. This was consequently a place, where a rich growth of this

plant was found. It seems as if the sing. form of the word had been used here originally, which in that case must have been taken collectively (cf. Bremhill). The loss of final *d* after *l*, *n* is characteristic of this dialect; see Ellis, p. 42 f., Kjederqvist, p. 101. Contrary to Baddeley, p. 17, I take *Bedwins*, Glos. to be of the same origin.

Note. On account of the etymology of *Bedwyn* given above it is evident that Plummer's identification of *Biedan heafde* (AS Chr. A. D. 675) with this place must be erroneous.

Beechingstoke ESE of Devizes.

1086 *Bichenestoch* DB; c. 1290 *Bichenestok* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Stoke* FA; 1428 *in Bychenestoke, in Stoke, de Bechynstoke* ib.; 1442 *Bychyngstoke* Cal. Inq.

From an original **æt Byc(c)inges* (or **Byc(c)inga*) *stoce*, *Byc(c)ing* being the regular patronymic of the OE p. n. *Buc(c)a*. The long vowel in the first syllable of the modern form is certainly due to popular etymology (the name having been connected with NE *beech*).

Bemerton [*bemə(r)t'n*] WNW of Salisbury.

1086 *Bimertone*, *in Bermentone* DB; 1287 *Bymerton* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Byñtone* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Beomertonam* (Lat. acc.) Ch. R; 1316 *Bumerton* FA; 1324 *Bymerton* C. Inq.; 1326 *Bymerton* Pat. R; 1402, 1428 *Bymerton* FA; 1493 *Bemerton* C. Inq.

The original form was most probably **Beornmæres tūn*, *Beornmær* being a p. n. found on an AS coin of the time of King Alfred. The *u*- and *y*-vowels are to be explained as follows. It is a known fact that OE *ēo* is sometimes in ME rendered by *u* (AN spelling) [also by *o*, *oe*], which are taken to represent the transitional sound [œ] between OE *ēo* and ME *ē* (OE *beorn* occurs occasionally in ME as *burn*, *deorc* as *durc*, etc.) see Bülbring, Bonner Beitr. zur Angl. XV: vii, Schlemilch pp. 32, 38. The erroneous use of ME *y* must be due to the presence of this *u*, which has

been assumed by the scribe to represent OE *y* (cf. ME *byrn* < OE *beorn*, *dyrk* < OE *deorc*.).

The *i* in *Bimertone* (DB) must be a mistake for *e*, as *eo* is not otherwise known to represent *i* in DB, and *n* for *r* in the other DB form, if not a mere error, is to be explained as an AN substitution; see Zachrisson, p. 141 ff.

Bentley Wood E of Salisbury.

1178? *Bentleswuda* Br. Mus.; 1224 *Bentlewud* R. L. Cl.; Hen. III *Bentlewode* Rot. H; 1270 *Bentelleswod*, *Bentelwoda* Ch. R.

Bentley certainly goes back to an original **æt* [*þæm*, *þære*] *beonet-lēage*; cf. Bentley, Worcs. (*æt Beonetlæage* CS no. 1087); Bentley, Suffolk (*Benetleia* DB, *Benetlei* TN). OE *beonet* (NE *bent*) is only recorded in pl. ns (see 'bent' NED).

Berwick Basset (*barik*, *berik*) N of Avebury.

1206 *Berewyc* Br. Mus.; 1221 *Berewyk*, *Berewich* Macray; 1231 *Berewic* Ch. R; 1271 *Berewyk* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Berwike* FA; 1325 *Berwyk Basset* Ch. R.

Berwick is a very common pl. n. all over England and goes back to OE *berewic*, a compound of *bere* = 'barley' and *wic* = '(dwelling-)place', 'habitation'. A *berewic* may therefore have been either 'a barley farm' or 'a shed in which barley was stored'. In NED *berwick*, *berewick* is stated to be obsolete and is translated by 'demesne farm'. Jones, p. xxi points out another sense which the word seems to have had in the time of Domesday. On the ground of such expressions in DB as '*Ad hoc manerium pertinent 4 berewicæ* (I, 128 b) and *Ad hoc man. jacuit et jacet una Berewica* — — — (I, 129 b), he takes the word to have indicated 'a small farm, subordinate to a manor'. The explosive in *wick* is due to the OE inflected cases; see Cornelius, and Björkman, *Loanwords*, p. 145.

'Basset(t)' is an AN family name. Other estates in Wilts.,

which have been in possession of members of this family, are Compton B., Easton B., Winterbourne B., and Wootton B.

Berwick St. James ENE of Wylve.

C. 1190 *Berewyk Sancti Jacobi* Macray; 1316 *de Berewike* FA; 1324 *Beriwyk* ib.; 1428 *Berwyk (Sancti Jacobi)* ib.

Berwick St. John E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1267 *de Berewyke S. Johannis* Macray; 1316 *de Berewyke* FA; 1428 *Berewyk Sancti Johannis* ib.

Berwick St. Leonard E of Hindon.

1428 *Berwyk Sancti Leonardi* FA.

The distinctive names of these three places refer to churches.

Beversbrook [*bijvə(r)sbruk*] NE of Calne.

1086 *Bevresbroc*, *Brevresbrok* DB; 1240—45 *Beverbrok* Macray; 1316, 1428 (*de*) *Beveresbroke* FA; 1437 (*of*) *Beverisbroke* Cat. A. D.

Originally **æt beofores brōce*, *brōc* referring to a little tributary of the Marden, now called 'Fisher's brook'. The first *r* in *Brevresbroc* (DB) is merely orthographic.

Biddestone [*bidst'n*] W of Chippenham.

1086 *Bedestone* DB; 1181 *de Bedeston'* Pipe R; 1215 *in Buddeston'* R. L. Cl.; 1216 *de Betesdoñ* ib.; 1258 *Budeston* C. Inq.; 1285 *Budisdene* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1288 *Byddiston* Dugdale; Edw. I *Budeston* Br. Mus.; 1307 *Budeston* C. Inq.; 1316 *Budeston* FA; 1321 *Butteston* Fine R. [prob. identical]; 1351 *Buduston* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Butteston* FA; 1464 *Buddeston* Br. Mus.

Probably from **Bȳðdan tūn* (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen.; see Alexander, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VII, p. 70). For the p. n. *Byda*, which is recorded in LVD, see Müller, p. 49.

The *e* of the first syllable in some of the earliest forms above stands for *i* and may, on account of the early date of the references, be due to French influence (see Zachrisson, *Stud. i mod. språkv.* V, p. 10). It is to be noticed in this connection, however, that there also exists in different parts of the county a well-marked tendency to change *i* into *e*, and even many of the ME forms that show this change may be explained as having been affected by this tendency (cf. e. g. Brinkworth, Chicklade, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Chitterne, Chittoe, Fittleton, Grittleton, Lydiard, Smithcot, Tedworth).

The change from *d > t* in two of the forms above may be due to assimilation with the following *s* (the medial *e* having been syncopeated).

It is obvious that confusion of *-ton*, preceded by *-s-*, and *-stone* must be very frequent in Engl. pl. ns.

Bincknoll SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *in Bechenhalle* DB; 1251 *Benecnoll* Ch. R; 1279 *Benknolle* Br. Mus.; 1284 *Benknoll* R Pat.; early 14th cent. *Brencnoll* TN; 1316 *de Benknelle* FA; 1362 *Beneknoll*, *Bienknolle* Cl. R; 1367 *Bikenolle* Cal. Inq.; 1428 (*in*) *Bienknolle*, *de Brenknolle* FA; c. 1430 *Byngknoll* Br. Mus.

The DB form suggests an original **Beccan heall*. OE *heall* = 'palace', 'residence'. *Becca*, which also appears in the local names *Beccan ford(a)* CS no. 309, *Beccan lea* ib. no. 553, and *beccan leahe* ib. no. 1282 p. 586, was the name of a king in Widsith. This is another example in which the OE gen. *-n* is retained. The development has then been as follows: After the loss of *e*, metathesis has taken place so as to give a form **Benkolle* (the second syllable weakened), which at a time must have existed side by side with **Beknolle* (*Bikenolle* Cal. Inq.). Out of these two forms has then arisen a contaminated form *Benknolle*, *Bincknoll*. For the transition of *e > i* see Morsbach § 109. *Brenk-* for *Benk-* is probably due to association with the subst. *brenk*, *brink*.

Bishop's Cannings NE of Devizes.

1086 *Cainingham* DB; 1091 *Caninges* Osmund; 1139? *Canenghis* Macray; 1146 *Canninges* ib.; 1148 *Caningas* ib.; 1161 *Canengis* Br. Mus.; 1173 *Caning* Osmund; 1226 *Kaninig* ib.; Edw. I in *Kaningge* Plac. Warr.; 1286 *Caningges* Macray; 1294 *Canyng Episcopi* Ch. R; 1296 *Canygges Bishop's* Pat. R; 1316 *Canynges* FA; 1428 *Cannying* ib.; 1491 *Bishops Canynges* C. Inq.

See All Cannings. The badly spelt DB form may naturally represent an older **Caninga hām*, but it may also be a corruption of an OE dat. plur. form **æt Caningum*. The term 'Bishop's' refers to the Bishop of Sarum, the chief tenant here in the time of Domesday.

Bishopstone E of Swindon.

1227 *Bissopestun* Osmund; c. 1290 *de Bissopestone* T. Eccl.; 1294 *Bisshopeston* Ch. R; 1300 *Bysshopeston* ib.

Originally **bisc(e)opes tūn*. This is another example, in which -s- has later on been added to the suffix, whence -stone.

Bishopstone S of Wilton.

1227 *Bissopeston* Ch. R; 1243 *Bissopiston* Pat. R; 1316 *Bisshopeston* FA; 1324 *de Byschopestone* ib.; 1428 *Bysshopeston*, *Buschopeston* ib.; 1534 *Bussheton* Br. Mus.

See preceding name. For the form *Bussheton* cf. Bushton, below.

Bishopstrow SE of Warminster.

1086 *Biscopestreu* DB; 1144 *bissopestreu* Round, Ancient ch.; 1194 *Bisuppestru*, *Bissupestru* Rot. Cur.; Hen. III *Bissopestreu* Br. Mus.; 1236 *Bisshopestre* Ch. R; 1270 *in Byscoppestrewe* ib.; c. 1290 *de Bissoppestrowe*, *Bissopestre* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Trowe* Pat. R. (prob. identical); Edw. I *Bissupestreo* Br. Mus.; 1316 *de Bisshoppestrowe* FA; 1365 *by Busshapestrowe* Cl. R.

From **bisc(e)opes trēow* (*trēow* here probably = cross). Jones, p. 199, is of opinion that a cross may have stood

here as a memorial of Aldhelm, the well-known abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, to whom the church is dedicated. OE *-trēow* has become *-trow* by change of stress.

Blackland SE of Calne.

1194 *Blakeland* Rot. Cur.; 1218 *Blakeland* Macray; c. 1290 *de Blockelonde*, *Blakelond* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Blacklonde* FA; 1428 *Blackelond* ib.

Originally **þæt blāce land* (OE *blæc* and *blāc* being helplessly confused with each other). This name can hardly denote anything but 'a tract, covered with dark forests'. Guest, p. 254, points out the great probability of a line of forest having stretched almost uninterruptedly from the extensive Bradon forest in north Wilts. to Selwood forest in the south-west. Blackland and Blackmore (below) in that case certainly formed part of this wooded district.

Blackmore NE of Melksham.

1338 *de Blakhemore* Pat. R.

This name answers to an OE **se blāca mōr*; OE *mōr* = 'a tract of waste (damp) ground'. See preceding name.

Blunsdon, Broad and Blunsdon St. Andrew N of Swindon.

1086 *Blontesdone*, *Bluntesdone* DB; 1177 *de Bluntesden* Pipe R; 1207 *in Bluntesdoñ* Rot. Ch.; 1262 *Brodebluntesdon* C. Inq.; early 14th cent. *Hangindebluntesdon* TN; 1316 *de Bluntesdone Sancti Leonardi*, *B. Sancti Andree* FA; 1326 *Blountesdon* C. Inq.; 1328 *Blontesdone* ib.; 1379 *Blontesdon Sci. Andree* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Blontesdon*, *de Bluntesdone* FA; 1650 *Blountesdon*, *Blundeston* Br. Mus.

The first element is, no doubt, the gen. of the French p. n. *Blund* (*Blond*, *Blont*, *Blunt*) [< med. Lat. *blundus*, *blondus*]; see Hildebrand, p. 331. This name, which occurs at a later date as a family name in Wilts. as well as in other parts of England, is not to be confused with the W.

Scand. nickname *Blundr* (from the subst. *blundr* = slumber). The termination is OE *dūn*.

The distinctive term in TN indicates 'situation on a steep slope'; cf. Hanging Langford. *Hangindebluntesdon* may be identical with the two farms in Blunsdon which are now called 'The Hangings'. 'St. Andrew' is the name of a church.

Boscombe SE of Amesbury.

1086 *Boscumbe* (twice) DB; 1178? *Boscumba* Br. Mus.; 1199 in *Borscumbe*, in *Boxcumḃ* Rot. Cur.; 1218—28 *Boscumbe* Macray; 1270 *Boscumba* Ch. R; 1286 *Boscumbe* ib.; Edw. I *de Borscumbe* Rot. H; c. 1290 *Bozscumbe*, *Borscumbe* T. Eccl.; 1328 *Borscombe* Phillipps' fines; 1362 *Borescombe* Cal. Inq.; 1364 *Borescombe* (several times) Cl. R; 1386 *Borscombe* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Boscombe* FA; 1540 *Borescombe* Dugdale.

Judging from the DB form and the other forms without *r*, it would seem as if the name contained the OE p. n. *Bosa*, occurring among other places in LVD, but on the other hand it cannot be a mere chance that *r* is found in so many ME forms. An independent p. n. which would fit in here is certainly not on record, but it seems not improbable that **Bora* might have been used in OE times as a nickname of a 'horn-bora', 'mund-bora', 'sweord-bora', etc. *Boscombe* may therefore be derived from **Boran cumḃ* (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen. ending, and assimilation of *r* to *s*). Cf. the local †to *Boresburghe* CS nos. 34, 563, †on *bores welle* ib. no. 776. *Boxcumḃ* (T. Eccl.) may have been affected by the same dialectal influence that gave *x* in *Axford* and *Wexcombe*.

Note. Kemble's identification of **botes cumḃ* CD no. 396, mentioned among the boundaries of the land at (Steeple) Langford on the Wiley, with this place cannot possibly be correct.

Bottlesford W of Pewsey.

892 †*to botan wælle* CS no. 567; 933 *to botan wyll* CS no. 699.

Hoare, in his edition of Reg. Wilt., has called attention to the probability that the modern Bottlesford is situated at the place to which these two ancient names refer, and there seems to be really no doubt at all about this identity. The original sense was thus 'Bota's well', *Bota* being probably a pet-form of such names as *Botwine*, *Botwulf*, etc.; see Müller, p. 48. *-wælle* CS no. 567 is not an original spelling [in OE *wæll(e)* is the Angl. equivalent of WS *wiell(e)*, *wyll(e)*; see Bülbring § 175]. At what time *-ford* was added I have not been able to find out. The insertion of *-s-* is due to the influence of pl. ns containing a first element with a gen. s.

Bowden SW of Calne.

1371 *Bouedon* Cat. A. D.

Either from **Buzan dūn*, or from **Bofan dūn*, *Buza*, *Bofa* being OE p. ns, here probably denoting the same *Buza* (*Bofa*) as occurs in the adjoining *Bowood* (see below). For the development of **Bofan dūn* into *Bowden* cf. Coulston, below. The fact that the place is situated on a plateau proves that the second element was originally *dūn*.

Bower Chalk SW of Broad Chalk.

955 †*æt Cheolcum*, †*æt Cheolcum* CS no. 917; 974 †*Cheolca* (Lat. form), †*to Cheolcan* ib. 1304; 1086 *Chelche* DB (including also Broad Ch.); 1175 *de Chelke* Pipe R (or = Broad Ch.), 1226 *in Chalk* R. L. Cl. (or = Broad Ch.); c. 1290 *Chelk* T. Eccl. (or = Broad Ch.); 1316 *de Burchalke* FA; 1377 *Bourchalk* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Borchalk* FA; 1455 *Burghchalke* Cal. Inq.; 1476 *Burghchalke* ib.; 1481 *Bery Chalke* ib.

The CS forms above (which, no doubt, also refer to Broad Chalk) cannot possibly be correctly spelt. They certainly stand for **Cealc*, **æt (pæm) Cealcum* [= 'the chalk-down(s)']. Bower and Broad Chalk are situated in the so-called White

Chalk district, for the extent of which see Heath, p. 17. *Cheolcan* CS no. 1304 no doubt represents the OE dat. plur. The DB form implies a late OE **celc*, see Bülbring § 314. The phonetic value of initial *ch* in DB before *e* and *i* is usually [k]; see Zachrisson, p. 34. In addition to the present DB form there are, however, several instances in this treatise of *che-*, *chi-*, for OE (*tfe*), (*tfi*); see Chaddenwicke, Chedg-low, Cheverell, Chilmark, Chippenham, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Chisledon. The spelling *che-*, *chi-* in question seems consequently not to be quite so uncommon as appears from Zachrisson's statement, p. 25.

The distinctive name was originally ME *burgh* (< OE *burh*) which has later on been confused with *bour*, *bower*. For this confusion cf. Burton, below. Bower Chalk appears to have been the site of an ancient camp.

Bowood SW of Calne.

13th cent. *Bowoda* Liber rub.; 1319 *Bouewode* Pat. R.

From **Buzan wudu* or **Bofan wudu*; see Bowden.

Box N of Bradford.

1144 *Boczā* Round, Ancient ch. (identical acc. to the editor); 1181 *La Boxe* Pipe R; late 12th cent. *La boxa* Br. Mus.; Hen. III *Boxa* ib.; 1249 *in Boxle* C. Inq.; 1258 *La Boxe* ib.; 1316 *de Boxe* FA.

OE *box* (= box-tree). This word occurs in several Engl. pl. ns. *Boczā* and *Boxle* seem to represent an older **box-hām* and **box-lēah* respectively.

For the French def. article in English pl. ns see Zachrisson, Anglia XXXIV.

Boyton SE of Heytesbury.

1086 *Boientone* DB; 1130—35 *Bointon* Osmund; 13th cent. *Bointone* Liber rub.; 1252 *Boyton* Ch. R; Edw. I *Boynton* Rot. H; 1316 *Boyton* FA.

From **Boian tūn*, *Boia* (*Boiza*) being a Continental p. n. of Celtic origin; see Forssner, p. 51.

Bradenstoke [*breid'nstouk*] SW of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Bradenestoch*, *Stoche* (prob. identical) DB 69 c; 1203 *Bradenestoke* Rot. Ch.; 1204 *Bradenestok* R. L. Pat.; 1232 *Bradenestok* Ch. R.; 1285 *Bradenestock*, in *Bradenestoke* ib.; 1290 *Bradestok* Cl. R.; 1318 *Bradestok* Pat. R.; 1339 *Bradinstok* Cl. R.; 1487 *of Bradnestoke* C. Inq.; 1495 *of Bradenestoke* ib.

It seems quite certain that the original name of this place was simply **æt* (*þām*) *stoce* (for OE *stoc*, see *Baverstock*), which became *Bradenstoke* later because of its situation in the Bradon (Braden) forest (see *Braydon*, below).

Bradfield SW of Malmesbury.

1086 *Bradefelde* DB; 1428 *Bradefeld* FA.

Originally **se brāda feld* ('the wide field'). In connection with this name attention may be drawn to a strange mistake in Wyld, pp. 25, 297, where *Brad-* in pl. ns is explained from an uninflected OE *brād-* with shortening of *ā* before the *-d*, followed by another consonant, and *Broad-* from an inflected form. There is no evidence for such a statement. The most natural and only possible way is to assume an original definite form for both cases. If we start with an early ME *Brādefeld* (< OE **se brada feld*), then either the *ā* (in an open syllable) is shortened in accordance with Luick's theory, or, on the other hand, if the medial *-e-* was lost before this happened, the *ā* would still be shortened because of its position before two consonants (cf. *Aldbourn*). The forms in *Broad-* are on the other hand due to the influence of the independent adjective. In the same incorrect way are explained *Lang-* and *Long-* in pl. ns (Wyld, p. 367).

Bradford(-on-Avon) NW of Trowbridge.

[652] *æt Bradan forda be Afne* AS Chr. [Ā]; 705 †*Bradanford* (†*Bradeneforde*) CS no. 114; 1001 †*æt Bradeforda* CD. no.

706; 1086 *Bradeford* DB; 1130 *Bradeford* H. Pipe R; Hen. III *Bradeford* Br. Mus.; 1316 *Bradford* FA.

No comments needed.

Bradley, North S of Trowbridge.

c. 1291 *de Bradeleye* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Bradele* FA.

From an original *æt *þæm* (*þære*) *brādan lēaȝe*; (OE *lēah* = meadow, arable land).

Bratton ENE of Westbury.

1249 *Bratton* C. Inq.; 1255 *in Bretton* R. fin. exc.; 1256 *Bretton* Pat. R; 1257? (*versus*) *Bratthonom* Macray; 1267 *Bretton* Pat. R; 1275 *Bratton* C. Inq.; 1304 *Bratton* Ch. R; early 14th cent. *Bretton* TN; 1316 *de Brattone* FA.

Undoubtedly from **se brāda tūn*. The forms with *e*, if not merely spelling mistakes, may be explained as due to association with the corresponding ME subst. *brēde* = 'breath'; cf. Lindkvist, p. 28, foot-note¹.

Braydon E of Malmesbury.

688 (*silva*) †*Bradon* CS no. 70; 796 (*silva*) †*Braden* ib. no. 279; 901 †*Bradene(weye)* ib. no. 586; (*circa*) *Bradenam* Asser; [905] *on Bradene* AS Chr. [Ā]; *on Brædene* ib. [D]; 1065 †*Bradon* CD no. 817; 1230 (*forest of*) *Braden* Br. Mus.; 1236 *de Bradon* Cl. R; 1281 (*forest of*) *Braden(e)* C. Inq.; 1328 *Braden* Ch. R; 1364 *of Bradenne* Cl. R.

This name was formerly applied to the extensive woodland which occupied nearly the whole of the north of Wilts. (for its boundaries see Akerman, *Archæologia* XXXVII). *Braydon* cannot possibly be derived from **seo brāde dūn* (or *dene*), as the Parker ms. [Ā] of AS Chr. in that case would certainly have shown that form. The first element is no doubt of Celtic origin, and I am even inclined to believe that *-dene* of the OE forms above stands for an

¹ Mr. J. C. Longstaff has certainly informed me that *a* lends to *e* in the west Wilts. dialect, but that this tendency is not well marked. Bratton is at the present day pronounced *bræt'n*.

older *-dūn(e)*. Confusion between *dūn* and *dene* (*denu*) is very common in pl. ns, and it seems by no means impossible that a substitution may have taken place even in OE. *ay* in the modern form must be a phonetic spelling (the original *a* having been lengthened in an open syllable); cf. Laycock, below.

Bremhill E of Chippenham.

937 *Breomel*, *Bremel*, *Broemel* CS nos. 716, 717; 1065 *Bremela* (latinized) CD no. 817; 1086 *Breme* (corrupt) DB; 1194 *Bremleia* (prob. identical), *Bromel* Rot. Cur.; 1219 *Bremel* Macray; 1226 *Bremleshill* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1233 *Bremble* Macray; 1316 *Bromell* FA; 1428 *Bremel*, *de Bremele* ib.; 1468 *Bremhill* Br. Mus.; 1540 *Bremyll* Dugdale.

OE *brēmel*, *brāmel*¹ (*brāmbel*), [< prim. Germ. **brēmilo-z*] = 'bramble'. *eo* and *oe* in *Breomel*, *Broemel* no doubt represent the sound *æ* (see Bülbring § 166). The form *Bromel(l)* is due to confusion with the cognate *broom* (< prim. Germ. *brāmo-z*). *-hill* is consequently not original but a late development, due to popular etymology (the village being situated on a hill). Cf. Cherhill, Fonthill, below.

Bremhill Wick NW of Bremhill.

1426 *Bramelwik* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Wyke* FA.

Originally this place was certainly called simply **wīc*, **æt (þāem) wīce*; in order to distinguish it from other places of the same name it was then called *Bremhill Wick*, because of its proximity to Bremhill (cf. Farleigh Wick, Haydon Wick, etc.). *Bramel-* is based upon an OE *brāmel* with shortening of *ā* before *ml* (in oblique cases).

Bremilham SW of Malmesbury.

1065 *Bremelham* CD no. 817; 1178? *Brumilham* Br. Mus.; 1199 *Brumelham* Rot. Ch.; *Brumelhā* Rot. Cur.; 1218 *Bremelam* Macray; 1270 *Brimelham* Ch. R; 1404 *Bremulham* Cal. Inq.; [n. d.] *Bremelham*, *Brumelham* Reg. Malm.

¹ On this form see Bülbring § 192, anm.

Originally **brēmel-(brāmel-)hām*. The second element may have been OE *hām* (= home, dwelling) as well as *ham(m)* as it is obvious that in most cases it is impossible to distinguish these words in pl. ns. The latter is connected with German *hemmen* (to 'hem in') [< prim. Germ. **hammjan*], and its original meaning may therefore have been 'a meadow (near water) enclosed and defended by a ditch or paling'; see NED, Bosworth-Toller, and Wyld, p. 342. *Ham(m)* still exists as a dialectal word in the southern counties, indicating 'flat, low-lying pasture land near a stream'.

The *u* in *Brumelham* stands for *y* (< *i*), the latter vowel having been looked upon as original. According to Morsbach § 109, a change of *e* > *i* is not to be expected in a position before *m*, but in note I of the same paragraph, ME *brimbel* is stated as a sporadic form of *brembel*, and NED quotes ME *brimbel* as well as *brymble*.

Bremilham is also called 'Cowage'; see below.

Bridmore E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1312 *Brudemere* Pat. R; 1318 *Brudemere* C. Inq.; 1428 *Brydmere* FA.

Most probably from **Brydan mære* (= *zemære*). An OE p. n. **Bryda* is certainly not on record, but the existence of such a name is indicated by the local *Brydancumbe* CS no. 714 (= Burcombe, Wilts.), and *brydinga dīc* ib. no. 917, †*bridinghe dīc* ib. no. 970, both obviously representing the same earthwork in the vicinity of Bridmore. Was **Bryda* possibly a pet-name formation of *brȳd-guma*? cf. **Cyppa*, which may perhaps be considered as a shortened form of *cypman*; see under Chippenham.

Brigmerston [*brigmə(r)st'n*] N of Amesbury.

1086 *Brismartone* DB; 1199 in *Brietmaristoñ* Rot. Ch.; 1270 *Briggemareston* Ch. R; 1273 *Bryhtmerston*, *Brigemarston* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Brichm̃ston*, *de Bristmeston* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *Brightmershton* FA; 1361 *Bryghtmanston* (n mistake

for *r*) Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Brightmerston* FA; (n. d.) *Brihtma-restun* Cat. A. D.

From **Beorhtmæres tūn*. *Beorhtmær* (later *Brihtmer*) was a common OE p. n., of which *Brismar* (< **Bristmar*) is the AN rendering¹. (Perhaps the place got its name from the *Brismar* who was a land-holder here in the time of Edw. Confessor.) After the loss of *t* in ME, the fricative (*χ*) was voiced and then changed into the corresponding explosive *g* (on account of the difficulty of pronouncing *gh* before *m*) cf. the transition of *ð* > *d* before *s* in *Alvediston*, *χ* > *k* before *s* in *Brixton*, and *þ* > *t* before *f* in *Ratfyn*. The spelling *sh* for *s* in the FA form of 1316 is due to the influence of the common ME *Mershton* (< OE *mersc-tūn*). *Brigmilston*, as the place is sometimes called, is due to the neighbouring *Milston*.

Brinkworth NW of Wootton Bassett.

1065 †*Brinkewrða* CD no. 817; 1086 *Brenchewrde*, *Brecheorde* (corrupt) DB; 1194 *de Brincewrthe*, *de Br-nchewrth*, *de Brinkewrthe* Rot. Cur.; 1220—25 *Brinkeworth* Osmund; c. 1290 *Brenkew'rth* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Brunkwurth* TN; 1316 *de Brynkeworth* FA; 1340 *Brenkeworth* Ch. R.; [n. d.] in *Breyнкеwrthe* Reg. Malm.

'The homestead on the brink', the place being situated on the extremity of the ridge of a down. *Brink* (= the edge, or border of a steep place) is suggested by Björkman to be a Scand. loan (Loanwords, p. 232). This would be curious, however, as there are no other Scand. elements (except Scand. p. ns) in Wilts. pl. ns. As to *e* for *i* in some ME forms see under Biddestone. *Brunk-* (in TN) stands for *Brynk-*.

¹ Cf. *Brislinga*, *Bristelme(s)tune* DB = Brightling, Brighton, Sussex; *Bristelmestone* DB = Brighthampton, Oxf.; *Dreslin(g)tone* DB = Drighlington W. R. of Yorks., etc.

Britford or Burford SE of Salisbury.

670 (†)to *Bryt. ford(ingea landscaere)* CS no. 27; 826 †to *brutforda* ib. no. 391; 905 (†)to *bryt ford(inga land sceare)* ib. no. 690; 997 (†)to *Brytford(inga landsceare)* CD no. 698; [1065] †æt *Brytfordan* AS Chr. [C] (possibly identical); 1086 *Bretford* (twice), *Bredford* (twice) DB; c. 1115 *Britford* Osmund; 1158 *Brutford* ib.; 1200—10 *Bretford* ib.; 1235 *Bretford* Macray; 1273 *Brutford*, *Bredford* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Britford* Br. Mus.; 1315 *Brutford* ib.; 1486 *Birtford* C. Inq.; 1491 in *Byrtforde* ib., 1494 *Birtford* ib.

Originally **Brytta* (*Britta*, *Bretta*) *ford*, or *Brytford* (*Bretford*) = 'the ford of the Britons'. The latter form is assumed on account of *bretland*¹, which occurs in Orosius. With regard to the AS Chr. form there is no doubt that the original ms. had *æt *Bryt(ta)forda* which the ME scribe took to be an OE nom. and therefore treated as belonging to the weak declension; [cf. *Cellanwirdan* (Chelworth), which may be due to a latinized **Cellanwirda*].

The modern variant *Burford* is easily explained from the same OE form: **Bryt(ta)ford* > ME *Byrtford* > **Burtford* (AN spelling) > *Burford*, the first element of which has been associated with the common *Bur-* (< OE *burh*) in pl. ns. Cf. *Burcombe*, below, *Burlington*, a variant of *Bridlington*, E. R. of Yorks. (DB *Bretlington*), and *Burcot*, Oxf. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxf.). On the AN interchange of *t* and *d* in final position see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note.

Brixton Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 *Devrel* DB 68 c.²; c. 1290 *de Brightrichestone*, *Brightricheton* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Brichtricheton* TN;

¹ This form is certainly genuine and not to be derived from an earlier **bretta land*. The compound was probably formed at a very early period, before the Celtic *bret* had yet adopted OE endings.

² All the five Deverills (Brixton D., Hill D., Kingston D., Longbridge D., and Monkton D.) are certainly represented in DB,

1316 *Brighteston* FA; 1428 *Bryghteston*, *Brighricheston* ib.; 1435 *Brighston Deverell* Cal. Inq.; 1442 *Brigteston Deverell* R. Pat.

This place has been widely considered to be identical with *Egbryhtes stan* (*be eastan Seal wyda*) AS Chr. [Ā] A.D. 878. As far as the names are concerned, however, this identification cannot be right, for *Brixton* is evidently derived from **Beorhtrices* (*Brihtrices*) *tūn* (*Beorhtric* perhaps identical with the *Brictric* who, according to DB, was the tenant here in the time of Edward Confessor). After contraction to *Bright(e)ston*, *t* has been lost, and *Brighston* has then become *Brixton*; see Jespersen 2, 324, Horn § 253.

Deverill, the name of the stream on which this place and the other Deverills are situated, must be Celtic and may possibly be cognate with Celtic *dubro-n*, Welsh *dwfr*, *dwr* = 'water' (usually occurring as *Dover* in modern names); see Stokes, p. 153. The oldest form of *Deverill* that has been found is *Defereal* (anglicized), mentioned in a charter of King Eadgar, dated 968 (Reg. Wilt.).

Broad Chalk SW of Wilton.

1316 *de Chalke* FA; 1415 *Brodechchalke* Cat. A. D.; 1440 *Brodechchalke* Cal. inq. da. See Bower Chalk.

Broad Hinton SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Hantone* [prob. identical], *Hentone* DB 71 a, c.; 1232, 1236 *Henton* Ch. R; c. 1250 *Henton* Br. Mus.; 1316' *Henton* FA; 1333 *Brodehenton* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Henton Columbers*, *H. Waas* FA.

From an original **æt þæm hēan tūne*. The place has an elevated situation on the ledge of a chalk-down. The

where they occur as simply *Devrel*; but it is rather difficult to decide which of these places each *Devrel* (in DB) refers to. In the present case, however, the identity seems indicated by the fact that *Brictric* is mentioned as tenant.

a-form in DB is due to an earlier shortening of the OE diphthong. For the transition of *e* > *i* see Morsbach § 109.

'Columbers' (Columbels) and 'Waas' (Wace) are AN surnames.

Broad Town SE of Wootton Bassett.

1220 *de la Bradetune* Cat. A. D.; 1230 *in Bradeton* Cl. R.; 1271 *Brodeton* C. Inq.; 1274 *La Bradeton* Cl. R.; 1300 *in Brodetoune* Ch. R.; 1322 *Broddeton* Pat. R.; 1324 *de Brodetone* FA; 1428 *Brodetoun* ib.

**se brāda tūn*, which may give *Bratton* as well as *Broad Town*; see under *Bradfield*.

Brokenborough NW of Malmesbury.

956 †*Brokeneberga*, †*Brokeneber(eg)ge* CS nos. 921, 922; 1065 †*Brokeneberge* CD no. 817; 1086 *Brocheneberge* DB; c. 1125 *Brocheneberg* W. Malm.; 1185 *Brokenesberga* Pipe R.; 1232 *Brokenburgh* Ch. R.; 1235 *in Brokeberwe* Cl. R.; 1251 *in Brokeberge* Pat. R.; c. 1290 *Brokeneborwe* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Brokenborowe* FA; 1340 *Brokenbergh* Ch. R.; 1421 *Brokynborough* Cat. A. D.; 1428 *Brokynborgh*, *Brokynbergh* FA; (n. d.) *in Brokeneberue* Cat. A. D.

The OE name was obviously **se brocena beorȝ* (*beorh*), probably denoting 'a crumbling hill'¹. The second element has later on been confused with *burgh*, *borough* (< OE *bur(u)h*) and, as is most often the case when this happens in pl. ns, *borough* has survived; cf. *Marlborough*, *Wanborough*, *Woodborough*, below.

Note. Kemble's identification of †(*on*) *brochenen berge* CD no. 284, and (*to*) *brocenan beorge* ib. nos. 1002, 1186 with this place is obviously incorrect. The first of these places is mentioned among the boundaries of *Tefunte* (= *Teffont*) in south Wilts.; the two latter names represent one and the same place, probably in Soms.

¹ This meaning is strongly supported by the fact that the ground in this part is composed of oolitic chalk.

Bromham NW of Devizes.

1086 *Bromham* DB; c. 1090 *Bromham* Br. Mus.; 1312 *Bromham* Ch. R.

Originally **brōm-hām* (or possibly *-ham(m)*); OE *brōm* = 'broom'. For *hām* see under Bremilham.

Broughton Gifford NE of Bradford.

1001 at *Broctūne* CD no. 706; 1086 *Broctone*, in *Broctune* DB; 1194 in *Broctoñ* Rot. Cur.; 1267 *de Brochetone* Ma-cray; 1281 *Brochton* Ch. R.; c. 1290 *de Broctone* T. Eccl.; 1293 *Brouton* Dugdale; 1328 *Broghton* C. Inq.; 1415 *Brogh-ton Giffard* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Broughton, Brocton* FA.

Originally *brēc-tūn*. The place is situated on a little affluent of the Lower Avon. The *Broughtons* in England are numerous. It is to be noticed that the OE combination *ct*, arisen in the formation of pl. ns, as a rule develops into *ht* in early ME, consequently coinciding with *ht* < pre-Germ. *kt* [on this point see Wyld, p. 300]; cf. *Wroughton*, below. The few cases in which this transition has not taken place may be due to the fact that the original sense of the first element was kept in mind while the sound-law in question was in force. Such names are e. g. *Acton* (*Trussell*), Staffs. (< OE *āc-tūn*), *Brocton*, Staffs. and several *Brocktons*, Salop. [< OE **brēc-tūn*]. *c* may also have been assimilated to *t* in some names, as is assumed in the case of *Latton*, below.

'Gifford' (*Gifard*) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 336; see also Jones, p. 201.

Bugley W of Warminster.

1256 in *Buggeġ* R. fin. exc. (prob. identical); Edw. I in *Bugelighe, Bogeleghe* Br. Mus.; 1536 *Buggeley* Dugdale.

Apparently from an original **æt Buggan lēaze*. Whether the first element represented a male or female name, we cannot say. *Bugge* was the name of the daughter of King Centwine (*Migne, Aldh. epist.*, p. 290) and also occurs

in CS no. 156 (*Bucgan*)¹, but a masculine equivalent is not on record.

Bulbridge [*bulbridʒ*] near Wilton.

c. 1200 *de Bolebrigge*, *de Bulebrige* Macray; 1248 *de Bulebrigge* ib.; c. 1290 *Bolebrygg* T. Eccl.

Probably from **Bulan brycz*; **Bula* may well have been a hypocoristic form of such names as **Buleferth* (< **Bul(e)-friþ*) occurring in the local †*Buleferthes steort* CS no. 687, or of *Bulered* (on a coin of the time of Eadweard III). Note also such pl. ns as *Bulinga fenn* CS no. 1351, *bulan hol* ib. no. 144, *Bulan ham* ib. no. 213, *bulan mædæ* ib. no. 491, *bullanholt* ib. no. 565, *on bulan wyllan* ib. no. 1282, p. 589, *Bulandun* CD no. 707.

Note. Middendorff's explanation of the element *bul* in Engl. pl. ns seems untenable. How could the OE element *bulan-* (which moreover is recorded in the early 8th cent.) represent O. Norse *bolr*, *bulr*? His assumption of an OE adj. **būl* (= 'geschwollen') seems also too hypothetical to be credited.

Bulford [*bulfə(r)d*] NE of Amesbury.

1178? *Bultisford* Br. Mus.; 1199 *de Bultiford* Rot. Ch.; 1270 *Bulteford*, *Bultesford(a)* Ch. R; 1286 *Bultisford* ib.; 1316 *de Bollforde* FA; 1331 *Bulteford* C. Inq.; 1428 *Bolteford* FA; 1566 *Bulford* Br. Mus.

From **Bultan ford*, *Bulta* probably representing some p. n. beginning with *Bult-*, of which **Bultfriþ* (*Bultfriði* Lat. gen.) is found in CS no. 91. The same name evidently occurs in *Boltintone* DB, situated, like Bulford, in the hundred of Ambresbury.

Bulkington [*bəlkiŋt'n*] W of Potterne.

1224 *in Bulkinton* R. fin. exc.; 13th cent. *Bolkintone* Liber rub.; 1316 *Bulkington* FA; 1324 *Bulkynton* ib.; 1330 *Bul-*

¹ From this dat. form. Searle erroneously gives a nom. form **Bugga*, and he makes the same mistake in the case of *Cillan*, dat. (CS nos. 29, 101); see Chilton.

kenton C. Inq.; 1332 *Bulkyngton* Ch. R; 1417 *Bulkindon* Cal. Inq.; 1434 *Bulkyngdon* ib.

Originally **Bulkinga* (*Bulcan*?) *tūn*, **Bulca* being probably a petform of some OE p. n. beginning with *Bulc*-. Of such names *Bulcred* alone is recorded. Note also (to) *bulcan pytte* CS no. 225, evidently situated in east Wilts. near Bedwyn.

Bupton S of Wootton Bassett.

1232 *in Bubbeclive* Ch. R (identical according to editor); 1344 *Bobbeton* Rot. Orig.; 1346 *Bubbeton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Bobuton* FA; 1488 *Bubton* C. Inq.

From *Bubban tūn*, *Bubba* being an OE p. n. *u* for *e* in *Bobuton* is merely orthographic.

Burbage SE of Marlborough.

961 *Burhbece*, †*Burgbeche*, †*burg beces* CS no. 1067; Æthelred †*Burhbec* CD no. 1312; 1086 *Burbetce*, *Burbetc*, *Buberger* (corrupt) DB; c. 1115 *Burbach* Osmund; c. 1140 *Burbecha* Macray; 1177 *Burbache* ib.; 1194 *Burggeþge* Rot. Cur.; 1199 *Burebach* Rot. Ch.; 1200 *Burbech* Osmund; 1204 *Burbeche* R. L. Pat.; 1227 *Burbech*, *Burbach* Ch. R; 1232 *Burbeche* Macray; 1314 *Burghbach Sauvage* C. Inq.; 1316 *Borebach* FA; 1320 *Burbachesauvage* Cl. R; 1338 *Bourbach* ib.

The first element is obviously OE *burh*; the second probably OE *bēce* (= beech-tree)¹, which may have had a collective sense here (i. e. = 'wood of beeches') just like OE *bed(e)-winde* and *bremel* (mod. Bedwyn, Bremhill). The supposition of a plur. sense is also supported by the form *burg beces* CS no. 1067. For *Bourbach* see Burton, below.

The modern *-age* is due to weakened stress; cf. *Cowage* (< OE *-wīc*), below, *Stevenage*, Herts. (< OE *-hæc(c)*), see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Herts. p. 65.

'Sauvage' is an AN family name.

¹ A derivation from OE *bece* (= 'brook', see NED under 'bache', 'beck') is out of the question for topographical reasons.

Note. *Burhbeca* CD no. 916 and †*Burbagh* ib. no. 939, which, like the places above (CD nos. 1236, 1312), have been located by Kemble in Berks., are identical with Burbage, Leics.

Burcombe W of Wilton.

937 *Brydancumb* CS no. 714; 1086 *Bredecumbe* (twice) DB; c. 1290 *de Brudecumbe*, *Bridecumbe* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Bridcombe*, *de Brudecombe* FA; *de Bridecumbe* Cl. R; 1428 *in Brudecombe*, *de Brutcombe* FA; 1481 *Northbritcombe* Br. Mus.; 1540 *Burdcombe* Dugdale.

For **Bryda* see Bridmore. The development of the present name is analogous with that of *Burford* (Britford).

Burford see Britford.

Burton near Mere.

1236 *de Burton* Cl. R; 1314 *Mereburton* Pat. R; 1398 *Mere Bourton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Bourton* FA.

Most probably from **burh-tūn*¹. In ME the first element has been confused with the subst. *bour* (< OE *būr*); cf. *Bourton*, Glos. and Berks., both of which are derived from OE *burh-tūn* (see Baddeley, p. 28; Skeat, Pl. Ns of Berks. p. 92).

The distinctive name refers to the neighbouring Mere.

Bury Blunsdon near Blunsdon, Broad.

early 14th cent. *Buribluntesdon* TN; 1319 *Burbluntesdon* Pat. R; 1332 *Buribluntesdon* Cl. R.

Originally **æt* (*ǣre*) *byriȝ*. There are still remnants of ancient fortifications at this place. For Blunsdon see above.

Bushton [*buʃtʰn*] S of Wootton Bassett.

1316 *Bisshoppeston* FA.

¹ An OE **būr-tūn* is, on the other hand, a most unlikely name, as *būr* seems to have been chiefly a literary word and not much in use.

From **bisc(e)opes* [*bysc(e)opes*] *tūn*. The modern form is due to an AN rendering of **Byshton*, a contraction of ME. **Byshopeston*, with a later association of the first syllable with the subst. *bush*. Cf. *Bussheton*, Br. Mus. [= Bishops-tone, above].

Buttermere SE of Shalbourne.

863 †*Butermere* CS no. 508; 931 †*Buter mere* ib. no. 678; 1086 *Butremare* (twice), *Butremere* DB; William I *Bwtærmæræ* Br. Mus.; 1284 *Butermere* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Botemere*, *Bot̃emere* T. Eccl.; 1330 *Botermere* Br. Mus.; 1373 *Boturmere* Cal. inq. da.

Names beginning with *Butter-* are not uncommon in England, and in some cases this may well be derived from OE *butere*, e. g. *Butterton*, Staffs., see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Staffs., and *Butterworth*, Yorks., see Goodall. In the present case, however, it can hardly be anything but a p. n. **Buter* (< Scand. *Butr*). For the retention of *r* see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 184. The same name probably also occurs in the latinized *Buterus* Ellis Intr. II p. 300. The second member is OE *mære* (*gemære*) = 'boundary', 'landmark'. There is another *Buttermere* in Cumb., which certainly contains the same p. n. (see Sedgfield).

Cadnam N of Calne.

1468 *Cadenham* Br. Mus.

Undoubtedly from **Cadan hām* (or *hamm*), *Cada* being perhaps the same person as has given his name to the adjoining Catcombe (see below). For this p. n. see Müller, p. 49.

Calcutt [*kalkət*] near Cricklade.

1086 *Colecote* DB; 1327 *Colcote* C. Inq.; 1334 *Colecote* ib.; 1342 *Colecote* Cal. Inq.; 1404 *Calcote* ib.; 1416 *Colcote* ib.; 1493 *in Calecote* C. Inq.; 1623 *Calcott* Br. Mus.

Probably from **Colan cot(e)*; the p. n. *Cola* may, according to Björkman, Pers. I, p. 84, possibly be an anglicized form

of the Scand. *Coli*. *Calcutt* is one of those pl. ns, the development of which has been influenced by a tendency among the dialects of Wilts. to change *o* > *a*, which seems to have been in force since the 15th cent. The other names showing this change are *Ratfyn*, *Wansdyke*, and *Wraxhall* (*North and South*)¹.

The modern pronunciation of *Calcutt* is merely a spelling pron.

Calne [kæn, kaan].

955 *Calne* CS no. 912; [978] *Calne* AS Chr. [E] (prob. identical); 997 *Calnæ* CD no. 698; 1086 *Cauna* DB; 1091 *Calna* Osmund; c. 1108 *Kaln* ib.; 1160 *Canna* Macray; c. 1180 *Cauna* Osmund; 1194 *Canne*, *Calne* Rot. Cur.; Hen. III *Kaune* Rot. H.

This name must be Celtic, probably the same word as *Colne*, Lancs. (occurring as *Calna*, *Caune* in the 13th cent.); see Wyld.

Calstone Wellington [kɔlst'n] SE of Calne.

1086 *Calestone* (three times) DB; 1130 *Calestona* H. Pipe R; 1194 *de Calestoñ*, *de Karletoñ* Rot. Cur.; 1204 *in Calestoñ* R. Oblat.; 1225 *de Calestun* R. fin. exc.; 1273 *Calston*, *Caleston* C. Inq.

The first element is evidently the Scand. p. n. **Kale* (*Kali*), for which see Björkman, Pers. II, p. 50. The termination is OE *tūn*. According to Jones, p. 203, 'Wellington' refers to John de Wilinton, a baron of the time of Edw. III.

Castle Combe NW of Chippenham.

1086 *Come* DB; 1269 *Cumbe* C. Inq.; *Cumba* Br. Mus.; 1270, 1283 *in Cumbe* Ch. R; 1315 *Castelcombe* ib.; 1322

¹ The existence of this tendency in the districts where these places are situated has been confirmed by all those people I have consulted on the question.

Castelcoumbe ib.; 1328 *Castelcombe* C. Inq.; 1422 *Castelcome* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Combe* FA.

OE *cumb* (= small valley). In DB *b* is sometimes lost medially after *m*; see Stolze § 34; cf. Elcombe, Stitchcombe, Tidcombe, Whitcombe, below. 'Castle' refers to an ancient Norman castle, of which there are still traces.

Castle Eaton NE of Cricklade.

1086 *Ettone* DB; 1218 *Etun* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Eaton Meysy* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Eton Meysy* FA; 1371, 1375 *Eyton Meisy* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Eaton Meysy* FA; 1503 *Castell Eton* Cat. A. D.; c. 1540 *Eiton Castelle* Leland.

Originally **ēa-tūn* ('enclosure by water', here the Thames). *Eyton*, *Eiton* are AN spellings; see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkv. V, p. 16.

'Meisy' was a family name, possibly of French origin. 'Castle' may refer to some mediæval castle, of which, however, there are no visible traces at the present time.

Catcombe N of Calne.

1240 *in Cadecumb'* Cl. R.

From **Cadan cumb*; see Cadnam, above.

Chaddenwicke [*tsæd'nuwik*] E of Mere.

1086 *Chedelwich* DB; 1283 *Chadewiz* C. Inq.; 1322 *Chadenwiche* Cal. inq. da.; 1324 *Chadewych* Pat. R; 1414 *Chadneswyche* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Chadenwyche* FA; 1493 *of Chadenwiche* C. Inq.

From an original **æt Cead(d)an wīce*, *Cead(d)a* being probably a shortened form of *Ceadw(e)alla*, the anglicized form of the Celtic *Cædwalla*. The substitution of *l* for *n* in the DB form is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, p. 141 ff., and also *z* for *ch* in *Chadewiz*, see ib. p. 26 f.

Chalcot SW of Westbury.

1269 *(de) Chaldecote* R. fin. exc.; 1318 *(in) Chaldecote* Ch. R.

Originally, **pæt cealde cot*, **seo cealde cote*. This name, of which the Anglian equivalent *Caldecot(e)*, *Caulcott* is rather common, may have indicated a 'shelter' or 'abandoned cottage'. Cf. *cold harbour* (also frequently used as a pl. n.) = 'a place of shelter for wayfarers by the wayside' (see 'harbour' NED).

Chalfield, Great, and Little.

1001 †*Chaldfelde* CD no. 706; 1086 *Caldefelle* DB; 1194 *Chaudefeld* Rot. Cur.; 1199 *Chadesfeldā*, *Kaldefeldā*, in *Caudifeldā* ib.; 1201 *Chaudefeld*, *Scaudefeld* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1216 in *Chaldefeldā* R. L. Cl.; 1254 *de Chaudefeld* R. fin. exc.; 1318 *Shaldefeld Parva* Pat. R.; 1428 *Est Chaldefeld* (= Ch. Great), *West Chaldefeld* (= Ch. Little) FA.

Originally **se cealda feld* (*ceald* to be taken in the sense of 'bleak', 'windswapt'). As the phonetic value of *c* before *a* in DB is *k* (Zachrisson, p. 34), it may be the Angl. form that has influenced the scribe in this case; cf. the 1199 forms (Rot. Cur.). The orthographic confusion of *ch*, *sc* and *s(c)h* is discussed by Zachrisson, p. 38. For the loss of medial *d* in DB see Stolze § 37.

Chapmanslade [*tsæpmænsleid*] SW of Westbury.

1396 *Chepmanslade* Cal. Inq.; 1455 *Chipmanslade* ib.; 1463 *Chapmanslade* ib.; 1476 *Chipmanslade* ib.

Originally **æt cēap-* [*cēpe-*, *cȳpe-*] *mannes lāde* (with ME shortening of *ā* in the second element). OE *lād*, *zelād* seems to have denoted 'road' as well as 'water-way'; see 'load', 'lode' NED, and 'lode' EDD. In the name under discussion the former meaning is present. Cf. Chicklade, Cricklade. The mod. pronunciation (*-leid*) is due to the spelling.

Charlton NE of Malmesbury.

680 †*de Cherl(e)tone* CS no. 59; 844 †*Cherltune* (†*Choerletune*) ib. no. 447; 965—71 *æt Ceorlatunæ* CS no. 1174; 1065 †*Cheorletuna* CD no. 817; 1086 *Cerletone* DB I: 67 a; 1316 *Cherlton* FA; 1428 *Charl(e)ton* ib.

From an original **ceorla tūn*. In the OE constitution, a 'ceorl' was 'a man without rank', 'a member of the third or lowest rank of freemen'. For *oe* as a representative of OE *ēo* in early ME see Bülbring, *Bonner Beitr. zur Angl.* XV: VII. The three following names are explained in the same way.

Note. (*in*) *Ceorletune* Thorpe, p. 443, and (*æt*) *Ceorlatune* *ib.*, pp. 534, 535 are in the index located in Wilts. This seems, however, very doubtful, at least as far as the former place is concerned.

Charlton SW of Pewsey.

1225 *Cherleton* Pat. R (prob. identical); 1290 *Cherleton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Cherleton* FA; 1424 *Charleton* *ib.*

Charlton SSE of Salisbury.

1311 *Cherletone* C. Inq.; 1316 *Cherleton* FA; 1428 *Charleton* *ib.*

Charlton ESE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1216 *in Cherleton* Rot. Ch.; 1282 *Cherleton* Br. Mus.

Chedglow [*tʃedʒlou*] N of Malmesbury.

1086 *Chegeslaue*, *Chegeslei*, *Cheieslave* (corrupt) DB; 1167 *Cheggelawa* Pipe R; 1176 *Cheggelewa* *ib.*; 1194 *de Chegelawe*, *de Seggelaue* Rot. Cur.; Ric. I *de Seggelaue* Abbr. Plac.; 1203 *Chichelewe* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1222 *in Cheggelauwe* Macray; 1257 *Chigelauee* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Cheggelegh* Rot. H; Edw. III *de Cheggelewe*, *Cheggelegh* (several times) NI; 1361 *Chechelawe* Cal. Inq.; *in Chichelowe* Cl. R; 1428 *in Cheggelewe* FA; 1540 *Chegislow*, *Cheggeley* Dugdale.

The second element was obviously OE *hlāw* (*hlāw*) = '(funeral) mound'. As to the first element, it most probably represents an OE p. n. There is one on record, which would fit in here, viz. **Cecc(e)* [*signum Cecces* CS no. 183]. *Chedglow* may therefore possibly be derived from **Cecces*

hlāw (*hlēw*). *s* for *ch* is merely orthographic; see Zachrisson p. 37 f. The termination has, in DB, NI, and Dugdale, been confused with the common *-lei*, *legh*; cf Winterslow, below.

Chelworth NE of Crudwell.

Alfred †*de Choellewrthe*, †*Cellanwurd* CS nos. 568, 569; c. 900 †*Cellewird* ib. no. 584; †*Chellewrth*, †*Choellewrthe* [†*Cellanwirdan*, †*Ceolwurde*], †*cheleworpe* ib. nos. 585, 586; 956 †*de chelewrthe* ib. no. 922; 1065 †*Chellewrða* CD no. 817; 1086 *in Celeorde* DB; 1158 *Cheleswurda* Pipe R (or = Chelworth, below); 1322 *Chilworth* Pat. R (or = Chelworth, below); 1490 *Chelwourth* C. Inq.; (n. d.) (*de*) *Choellewrpe*, (*de*) *Chol(l)ewrthe* (several times) Reg. Malm.

From **Ceol(l)an weorþ* (*worþ*, *wurþ*, *wyrþ*), *Ceol(l)a* being probably a shortened form of some p. n. beginning with *Ceol-*, of which there are numerous examples; see Müller, p. 50. The final *d* for *th* in the second member may be due to weakened stress. In DB medial *th* is generally rendered by *d*; see Stolze § 38. *Chol(l)ewrthe* indicates change of stress. The form *Cellanwirdan* is probably due to a latinized **Cellanwirda* (cf. *Britfordan* under Britford), which has been treated by the ME scribe as if it belonged to the OE weak declension.

Chelworth SW of Cricklade.

1086 *Celeurde* DB; 1272 *Chellewrth* Br. Mus.; 1281 *Chelewrth* (or possibly Chelworth, above) C. Inq.; Edw. I *in Chelesworth* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *de Cheleworth* FA; 1327 *Chelleworth* C. Inq.; 1334 *Great Cheleworth* ib.; 1347 *Magna Scheleworth* Phillipps' fines; 1485 *Chelleworth* C. Inq.

See preceding name. *Scheleworth* is another example of the orthographic confusion discussed by Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Cherhill E of Calne.

1158 *Ceriel* Pipe R; 1215 *de Chiriẽ* R. L. Cl.; 1240 *Cyriel* Macray; 1267 *Chyriel* ib.; 1275 *Churiel* C. Inq.; 1315 *Chyryel*

ib.; 1316 *de Chyrrele* FA; 1324 *Cheriel* ib.; 1428 *Chyryell* ib.; 1490 *Chiriell* C. Inq.; 1577 *Cheriell* Br. Mus.; 1664 *Cherhill* ib.

The etymology of this name is obscure. All that is clear is that the *hill*-element is a very late formation, due to popular etymology (cf. Bremhill, Fonthill).

Cheverell, Great and Little SSW of Potterne.

1086 *Chevrel* DB; 1217 *Cheverel* R. fin. exc.; 1249 *Chyverel* C. Inq.; 1274 *Great Chyverel* ib.; 1279 *Cheveroil* Fine Rolls; 1286 *Chiverel* C. Inq.; 1301 *Little Cheveroill* Ch. R.; 1316 *Chyverell Magna, Ch. Parva* FA; 1402 *Cheveryll Magna* ib.

This name is probably not Germanic.

Chicklade [*tʃikləid*] N of Hindon.

1199 *de Chikelad* Rot. Cur.; Edw. I *in Chikelade* Plac. Warr.; 1296 *de Chiklede* Pat. R.; 1316 *de Chicklaude* FA; 1396 *Ceklade* Cal. Inq.; 1408 *Cekelade* ib.; 1428 *in Chykelade, de Chyclade* FA; 1491 *in Chykelade* C. Inq.

Probably from an original **æt Cices* (*Cican*?) *lāde* (*lād* here = 'road'; cf. Chapmanslade). Judging from the latinized *Cichus*, which occurs among the signatories of several OE charters, we are entitled to assume the existence of an OE p. n. **Cic* (perhaps also **Cica*). This p. n. seems moreover to be found in other pl. ns, e. g. in *Chick Hill* Sussex (1284 *Chikehull* Cal. Inq.), *Chicksands* Beds. (*Chicesane* DB; *Chikesaund* FA, Rot. H). *Chicksgrove*¹, SE of Chicklade, no doubt also contains the same p. n. *-laude* (in FA) seems to indicate a tendency towards the retention of the long vowel in the development of the name; cf. *Creckelaude* (Phillipps' fines) = mod. Cricklade.

¹ Unfortunately I have not been able to find any old references to this name.

Chilhampton¹ [— —] N of Wilton.

1291 *Childhampton* Cal. Inq.; 1303 *Childhampton* Cl. R.; early 14th cent. *Childh'mpton* TN; 1323 *Childehampton* Cal. inq. da.; 1481 *Chilhampton* Br. Mus.

This name is derived from **cilda hām-tūn* ('the children's homestead'). cf. *cilda stan* CS nos. 767, 1164, 1287; *Cilda tun* CD nos. 796, 1310.

Chilmark E of Hindon.

929—940 †*Chieldmeare* CS no. 745; 1086 *Chilmerc* DB; 1166 *Chilmerc* Pipe R; c. 1290 *Chilm'k* T. Eccl.; 1296 *Chilemark* Pat. R; 1316 *de Chilmerke* FA; 1428 *Chilmark* ib.

The original form seems to have been **cilda mearc*; OE *mearc* f. = 'boundary', 'landmark'. For *cilda* see preceding name.

Chilton Foliat NW of Hungerford (Berks.).

1086 *Cilletone* DB; 1221 *Chilton Foliot* Pat. R; 1227 *Chilton Foliot* Ch. R; 1307 *Chylton* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Chiltone* FA; 1321 *Chilton Tois* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1322 *Chilton Tieys* Ch. R; 1336 *Chilton Tyeis* ib.

The DB form indicates an original **Cillan tūn*. A weak masc. p. n. **Cilla* is not on record, but a fem. **Cille* existed [recorded in dat. (*Cillan*²) in CS nos. 29, 101]. A strong masc. *Cille* is also found (CS no. 75, and on a coin of the time of Harold I).

'Foliat' (Foliot) is a French family name, probably also 'Tyeis' (Tois). In TN, p. 145, Sampson Foliot is mentioned as the holder of Chilton and Dreycot (= Draycot Foliat).

Note. Kemble's identification of *Cioltan ford* CD no. 320 with Chilton is impossible, as this place is mentioned among the boundaries of *Norðniwetune* (= Newnton, North).

¹ There are no less than four 'Hamptons' in the vicinity of Wilton, each with a distinctive first element, viz. Chilhampton, Ditchampton, Netherhampton, and Quidhampton.

² As in the case of *Buggan* (see under Bugley), Searle here makes the same mistake of assuming a nom. **Cilla* from this dat. form.

Chippenham.

[878] *to Cippanhamme* AS Chr. [Ā]; 880—85 *æt Cippanhamme* [†*æt Cippenhamme*] CS no. 553; †*Schyppenam* ib. no. 554; *Chippenam* ib. no. 555; 901—24 *æt Cippan homme* ib. no. 591; 940 †*Chippenham* CS no. 751 (prob. identical); 1086 *Chepeham, Cepeham, Chipecam* DB; 1176 *Chypeham* Pipe R; 1178 *Chep(p)eham* ib.; 1200 *Chipecam* Rot. Ch.; 1204 *Chippehā* ib.; 1217 *Chiphām* Pat. R; 1225 *Chipeshā* R. L. Cl.; 1227 *Chip(p)eham* Ch. R; *Sipeam* Cl. R; 1240 *Sypeham* ib.; 1249 *Chuppeham, Chipecam* C. Inq.; 1264 *Chippenham* ib.; 1319 *Shippenham* Cl. R; 1376 *Chepenham* Rot. Orig.; 1420 *Chippyngham* Phillipps' fines; 1424 *Chippenham* FA.

The first element can hardly be anything but the gen. of a p. n. **Cyppa*, the patronymic of which occurs in DB as *Chipine* (Ellis, Intr. II, p. 68). The same name is contained in (to) *Cyppanhamme* CS no. 246 (= Chippenham, Glos.), possibly also in (†)*cipes bróc* CS 1111 (with substitution of strong for weak gen. ending). One may be inclined to explain **Cyppa* (< **Cȳpa*) as a pet-name, formed from OE *cȳpman*. The second element was OE *ham(m)*, for which see Bremilham. On the orthographic interchange of *s*, *s(c)h*, and *ch* see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.

Chirton SE of Devizes.

1086 *Ceritone* DB; 1194 *Cherint̃*, Rot. Cur.; 1221 *Chirituñ* R. L. Cl.; 1229 *de Chiriton'* Cl. R; 1285 *Churitone* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *de Chirtone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Churughton* FA; 1321 *Churghton* C. Inq.; 1324 *Churughton* Pat. R; *Chereton* FA; 1348 *Chirghton* Phillipps' fines; 1373 *Chirughton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Cheryton, Shirghton, Chernton, Chyryton* FA; 1473 *Cherghton* Cal. Inq.

This name seems impossible to explain.

Note. *Cyricestun* CD no. 1065 can obviously not be identical with this place, as is suggested by Kemble.

Chisbury NE of Burbage.

1086 *Cheseberie* DB; 1247 *de Chessebure* Macray; 1260, 1270 *Chissebury* Ch. R; 1270 *Chysebiry* Pat. R; 1279 *Chessebury* Br. Mus.; 1285 *Chusseburia*, *Chessburia* ib.; c. 1290 *Chisebury* T. Eccl. (prob. identical); 1316 *Chussebury* FA; 1360 *Chessebury* Cal. Inq.; 1402, 1428 *Chissebury* FA.

Most probably from an original **æt Cissan byriȝ*, *Cissa* being an OE p. n., occurring i. a. in LVD; see Müller, p. 50. *u* in *Chussebury* stands for a ME secondary *y* (looked upon as original). As to *e* for *i* in the first syllable of some ME forms, see under Biddestone.

Chisenbury N of Enford.

1086 *Chesigeberie* DB; 1226 *de Chesingeberie* Osmund; 1227 *Chisingebur* Ch. R; 1270 *Chisingbury* ib.; c. 1290 *Chesyngbury* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Chusingbury* FA; 1428 *Chesyngbury* ib.; 1485, 1493 *Chesyngbury* C. Inq.

Originally **æt Cissinga byriȝ*. For *Cissa* see preceding name. In the DB form a stroke (-) over *i* (representing the following *n*) has been left out.

Chisledon or **Chiseldon** SSE of Swindon.

880—885 *æt Cyseldene*¹ CS no. 553; †*at Kyseldene*¹ ib. 554; Alfred *Ciseldenu*¹ ib. 565; 900 †*Ceolseldene*¹ ib. 594; †*Ceoseldene*¹ ib. 598; 903 †*Ceoseldene*¹ ib. 602; 925—941 *Cyseldene*¹, †*(de) Cheseldene*¹, †*de Chiseldene*¹ ib. 648; 1086 *Chiseldene* DB; c. 1290 *Chiseldene* T. Eccl.; 1299 *Chuseldene* Pat. R; 1306 *Cheselden* Ch. R; 1316 *de Chuseldone* FA; 1428 *Cheselden*, *Chyselden* ib.; 1457 *Chiseldeen* Cat. A. D.; 1495 *Cheselden* C. Inq.

The first element is WS *cisil*, *cysel* [Angl. Kent. *ceosel*] = 'gravel', 'shingle'. The second element was OE *denu* = 'valley'. The village is situated on a brook (a sub-affluent of the r. Cole); *-don* in the modern name refers to the

¹ The identity is, if not quite certain, at least very probable.

down on its south side, over which the greater part of the village now extends. *k* in *Kyseldene* is merely scribal.

Chitterne, All Saints and Ch. St. Mary [*tfitə(r)n*] ENE of Heytesbury.

1086 *Chetre* (three times), *Cheltre* (prob. identical, but corrupt) DB; 1166 *Cettra* Pipe R; 1205 *Cettre* Rot. Ch.; 1232 *Cettra* Ch. R; 1248 *Cettre* ib.; 1255 *Cetter* Cal. Rot. Ch. (prob. identical); 1289 *Chytterne* Br. Mus., c. 1290 *Cettre* T. Eccl.; Edw. I in *Chytterne*, in *Chyttirne* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *de Chuterne* FA; 1324 *Chitterne Maiden* (= St. Mary) Pat. R; 1428 in *Chitterne*, *Cettre Beate Marie* FA.

The second element probably represents OE *ærn* = 'house', 'dwelling', 'place', which was very common as a termination in OE (e. g. *ber(e)-ærn*, *eorþ-ærn*, *heal-ærn*, *hord-ærn*)¹. The first element, which is most probably the same as in *Chittoe*, may be a p. n., although no suitable independent name is on record. The local *Cytanforde* CD no. 714, *cytan seohtres ford* CS no. 963, and *†cytan igge* ib. no. 1002 indicate, however, the existence of a p. n. **Cyta*, which may possibly be concealed in the name under notice and in the next one. Zachrisson (Stud. i mod. språkv. VI, p. 293, footnote 2, calls attention to the probability of *Cyta* in these OE pl. ns being nothing but the bird's name (NE 'kite'), applied as a nick-name. This also agrees with the initial *ch* in the DB form, but the mod. pronunciation is in that case a spelling pron. For the change of *i* > *e* in some forms see under Biddestone.

The distinctive names refer to churches.

Chittoe [*tfitu*] SW of Calne.

1167 *de Chetewe* Pipe R; 1227 in *Cheteweye* Macray; 1260 *Chetewe* Ch. R; 1389 *Chutuwe* Cat. A. D.; 1390 *Chetewe* Phillipps' fines; 1418 *Chutewe* Cal. Inq.; 1634 *Chittoe* Br. Mus.

¹ Other Wilts. pl. ns in *-erne* are *Colerne*, *Potterne*, and *Vasterne*.

Possibly from an original **æt Cytan weȝe* (see above). The second element was obviously OE *weȝ*, which after weakening has coincided with the common ending *-oe* (*-hoe*)¹ in pl. ns.

Cholderton E of Amesbury.

1086 *Celdrintone* (twice), *Celdretone* DB; 1174 *Cheldrintona* Pipe R; 1180? *Cheldretona* Br. Mus.; 1194 *de Cheldrītōn* Rot. Cur.; 1256 *Chederinton* C. Inq.; 1257 *Cheldrinton* ib.; 1270 *Cheldrington* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Cheldertone*, *Chelryngton* T. Eccl.; Edw. I *de Childerington* Plac. Warr.; 1296 *Chelderington* Pat. R; 1307 *Cheldryngton* C. Inq.; 1316 *Chaldrynton* FA; 1318 *Childerton* C. Inq.; 1428 *Chaldryngton* FA; 1482 *Chaldryngton* Cal. Inq.

From **Ceolredinga* (or **Ceolricinga*) *tūn*, *Ceolred* and *Ceolric* being recorded OE p. ns. For the development of this pl. n. cf. *Alderton* and *Hilperton*. *o* in the mod. name is due to the dialectal pronunciation of *e* in this position, which tends to *o*. The early insertion of *d* between *l* and *r*² and its subsequent occurrence is probably due to the influence of the ME adj. *chald*, *cheld* (< *ceald*), the influence of this adj. being particularly indicated by the form *Chaldryn(g)ton* (quoted three times), in which *a* can hardly be explained in any other way.

For *Child*- see Morsbach § 109.

Christian Malford NE of Chippenham.

937 †*Cristemaleford* CS no. 717; 940 †*Cristemalford* ib. no. 752; 1086 *Cristemeleforde* DB; 1166 *de Cristesmeleford* Pipe R; 1167 *Cristes Melesford* ib.; 1181 *de Cristemeressford* ib.; 1194 *Cristesmaelford* Rot. Cur.; 1196 *in Cristemaleford* Feet of fines; 1207 *de Crustemeleford* Rot. Ch.; 1227 *Cristmelford* Ch. R; 1232 *Cristemeleford* ib.; 1280 *C(h)ristemeleford* ib.; Edw. I *Criste(s)maleford* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *Cristemalle-*

¹ On this element see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds. p. 29 ff., Moorman, p. 52, Wyld, p. 95.

² In the case of *alder* (< OE *alor*) for instance, *d* does not appear till the 14th cent.

ford FA; 1540 *Christen Malford* Dugdale; c. 1540 *Christine Maleforde* Leland.

Originally **Cristes-mælford* ('the ford at the cross'). The ME forms exhibit two different types: one with an early shortening of the medial *æ* (by weakening), which has survived, the other with a later shortening. *r* for *l* in *Cristemeresford* may be due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, p. 143. The *e*-vowel between *l* and *f* is merely a connecting vowel.

Chute (Forest) [tʃuwt] NE of Ludgershall.

1178? *Ceit* Br. Mus.; 1199 *Chett* Rot. Ch.; 1215 *Ceĩ* R. Oblat.; 1222 *Cet* Pat. R; 1245 *Schet* ib.; 1255 *of Cette* ib.; *de Chete* R. Pat.; 1258 *Chut*, *Chet* C. Inq.; 1284 *of Choete* Cl. R; *of Chute* Ch. R; 1288 *Chuyt* Pat. R; *Chiet* Cl. R; 1291 *Shut* Pat. R; 1295 *Chuet* ib.; 1296 *Cheote* ib.; 1328 *Cheut* Cl. R; 1334 *Cheut* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Chuyt* FA; 1485 *in Chute* C. Inq.

This is certainly a Celtic name, perhaps the same as is contained in *Preshute*, below.

Clarendon ESE of Salisbury.

1164 *Clarendon* Br. Mus.; 1204 *Clarendon* R. L. Pat.; 1227 *Clarendon* Ch. R; 1279 *at Claryndone* C. Inq.; 1284 *Clarin-don* Ch. R; 1287 *Claryndon* C. Inq.; 1316 *Claringdon* R. Pat.; 1341 *Clarington* ib.; 1491 *Claryngdon* C. Inq.; c. 1540 *Clarington* Leland.

From **Claringa dūn*, *Claring* being perhaps a patronymic of *Clare*, occurring as the name of a witness in CS no. 882.

Clatford W of Marlborough.

1086 *Clatford* DB; c. 1290 *Clatford* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Clatford* FA.

The first element is no doubt OE *clāte*, a plant-name, denoting 'burdock', 'goose-grass', 'clivers'. At the present day, *clote* in the southern counties is also applied to other

plants, e. g. 'the coltsfoot', 'the yellow water-lily' (see EDD), but it is very doubtful whether the latter meanings are old enough to have been present in the pl. n. under notice.

Note. *Clatford* CD nos. 1177, 1265 is located by Kemble in Wilts., although it obviously refers to some place in the south-west of Berks.

Clench see Clinch.

Clevancy [*klev.ænsi*] E of Hilmarton.

1086 (*in*) *Clive* DB¹; 1232 *in Clive Wancy* Ch. R; early 14th cent. *in Clive Waucy* TN; 1316 *de Clyve Wauncy* FA; 1428 *in Clyve Auncy* ib.

Originally **clif* [æt (*ḥām*) *clife*]. It is interesting to notice the amalgamation of the distinctive 'Wancy' with the genuine name. The change of *i* > *e* in the first syllable is due to weakened stress.

The AN 'Wancy' refers, according to Jones, p. 207, to Radulf de Wancy, who held lands here towards the end of the 13th cent. (TN p. 137).

Cliffe Pypard [generally pron. *klijv*] S of Wootton Bassett.

1086 (*in*) *Clive* DB; 1230 *in Clive Pipart* Cl. R; 1281 *Cliffe Pipard* Br. Mus.; 1284 *Pypardeschlive* R. Pat.; 1290 *ad Clivam* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Clive (Pippard)* T. Eccl.; 1304 *in Pypardeschlyve* Ch. R; 1332 *Clivepipard* Br. Mus.; 1340 *Pipereschlyve* ib.; 1428 *in Clyve (Pypard)* FA.

Originally **clif*, *æt (*ḥām*) *clife*, the modern name being orthographically a contamination of the OE nom. and dat. form (the pronunciation, however, representing *cleve*, *cleeve*, for which see NED). 'Pypard' is an AN name, referring to the Ričus Pipard who is mentioned as a tenant here in TN, pp. 140, 149, 156 (see Jones, p. 207).

¹ There are several places called *Clive* in DB, and most of them seem to refer to manors at the present Clevancy and Cliffe Pypard.

Note. *Clive* CD no. 460 cannot possibly be identical with *Cliffe Pypard* (or *Clevancy*) as it is mentioned among the boundaries of *Brokeneberge* (= Brokenborough, Wilts.).

Clinch or **Clench** S of Marlborough.

1329 *Cleynche* C. Inq.; 1354 *Clench* Cal. Inq.

It seems impossible to explain this name. There is a dialectal word *clench* in Northants., applied to a plant ('the corn crowfoot'), but as this word is quite unknown in Wilts. at the present day¹, it is naturally very doubtful if it occurs in this pl. n.

Coate E of Devizes.

1282 *Cotes* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Cotes* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Cotes* FA; 1490 *Cotes* C. Inq.

Originally **cotan* (plur. of *cote* f.) or **cotu* (plur. of *cot* n.). OE *cote*, *cot* = 'cottage'. The ME forms quoted show substitution of the strong masc. plur. ending. Cf. *Coates*, Sussex (Roberts, p. 49), which is to be explained in the same way; (Roberts' derivation of this name from an original gen. sing. (OE *cotes*) is quite impossible). Cf. also the rather frequent *Coton* (e. g. in Cambs. and Staffs.) < **cotan*, **æt* (*þæm*) *cotum*.

Codford St. Mary and **Codford St. Peter** SE of Heytesbury.

901 †*codan ford* CS no. 595; 1086 *Coteford* (three times) DB; 1130—35 *Codeford* Osmund; 1167? *Cutiford* Br. Mus.; 1180? *Cotesford* ib.; 1281 *Est Codeford* C. Inq. (= St. Mary); 1309 *Estkcodeford* ib.; 1316 *Coteford* FA; 1322 *Westcodeford* Ch. R (= St. Peter); 1327 *C(h)odeford* C. Inq.; 1413 *Westcoteford* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Codeford Sancti Petri*, *C. Sancte Marie* FA.

Most probably from **Cudan ford*; for the p. n. *Cuda* see Müller, p. 51. As to *t* for *d* in the DB and Br. Mus. forms

¹ The dialectal word for the common crowfoot species is *crazy* (*craisey*) in Wilts.

see Zachrisson, *Stud. i mod. språkv. 5*, p. 8 f. The *t* in the later forms above is due to assimilation with *f* (after the syncope of *e*). 'St. Mary' and 'St. Peter' are names of churches.

Colerne [*kalə(r)n*] W of Corsham.

1086 *Colerne* DB; 1177 *Culerna* Pipe R; 1232 *de Culerne* Ch. R; 1269 *Cullerne*, *Collern* C. Inq.; 1283 *in Culerne* Ch. R; 1316, 1324 *de Colerne* FA; 1330 *de Colorne* R. Pat.; 1428 (*in*) *Colerne* FA.

This name may be derived from **Culan ærn* (cf. Chitterne). The existence of a p. n. **Cula* (**Cul*?) is indicated by *culinga gemære* CS no. 227, *Culingas* ib. no. 326, †*æt Culingen* (< **Culingum*) ib. no. 1064, *Cullingus* Ellis, *Intr. II* p. 306, *to culan fenne* CS no. 1082, (†)*to cules felda* ib. no. 620. The same p. n. occurs in the local *Cowlinge* Suffolk (see Skeat: *Pl. Ns of Suff.* p. 72).

Collingbourne Ducis

"

Kingston

} NNW of Ludgershall.

903 *Colengaburnam* (Lat. acc.) CS no. 602; 921 *on Collenga-burnan*, †*at Colingburne* ib. no. 635; 931 *æt Collinga burnan* ib. no. 678; 1086 *Colingeburne* (= C. Ducis), *Coleburne* (= C. Kingston) DB; 1234 *Coligburn'* (= Ducis or Kingston) Cl. R; 1256 *Colingeburne* (= Ducis) Pat. R; c. 1290 *Colingeburn Comit.*; *Colingeburn Abbis* (= Kingston) T. Eccl.; 1323 *Colyngburn Valence* (= Ducis) C. Inq.; 1402 *Colyngborne Valence* FA; 1428 *Colyngbourne Comit.*, *Colyngbourne Abbatis* ib.; 1479 *Colingbourne Valaunce* R. Pat.

The stream on which these places are situated is now called simply 'the Bourne' (a tributary of the East Avon), the same which in OE times was called *Winterburna* in its lower course; see *Winterbourne* (Dauntsey), below. The patronymic is most probably formed from *Cola*, for which name see *Calcutt*, above.

For the distinctive names see Jones, p. 208.

Combe near Enford.

1279 *de Combe* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1329 *Coumbe* C. Inq.; 1428 *in Combe* FA.

OE *cumb* (see Alcombe).

Compton NW of Enford.

c. 1080 *of Cuntune* (or = C. Chamberlayne) Cal. France; 1086 *Contone* DB, p. 69 a; 1329 *Compton* C. Inq.; (n. d.) *Cumppton* Cat. A. D.

Originally **cumb-tūn*. *n* for *m* is due to assimilation with *t*.

Compton Bassett NE of Calne.

1086 *Contone* DB, p. 70 d; 1182 *Comtona* Br. Mus.; 1220—28 *de Cumptone* Macray; c. 1225 *Cumton* Br. Mus.; 1271 *Cumpton Bassett* C. Inq.; 1324, 1402 *Compton Bassett* FA.

See preceding name. The manor was formerly in possession of the Norman Bassett-family; see TN, p. 141.

Compton Chamberlayne WSW of Wilton.

1086 *Contone* DB, 65 a; 1250, 1275 *Cumpton* C. Inq.; 1316 *Compton Chamberleyne* FA; 1318 *Cumpton Chaumberlayne* Ch. R; 1325 *Compton Chamberlayn* C. Inq.

For the distinctive name see Jones, p. 209.

Conock SE of Devizes.

1316 *de Coneke* FA; 1348 *de Connoke* R. Pat.; 1372 *Connok* Br. Mus.

This is undoubtedly a Celtic word, the same as Irish and Gaelic *cnoc* (= hillock, knoll); see 'knock' NED, and Macbain. The svarabhakti vowel is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson p. 49 f. Cf. Knook, below.

Coombe Bissett SW of Salisbury.

1086 *Cumbe* DB; c. 1115, 1158 *Cumba* Osmund; early 14th cent. *de Cumbe* TN; 1385 *Combeyisset* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *de Coumbe Byset* FA.

OE *cumb*. 'Bissett' is certainly an AN family name. In the time of Henry III, Johis Biset was tenant here; see TN, p. 155.

Corsham [Regis] WSW of Chippenham.

1001 †*Cosehām* CD no. 706; [1015] †*Cosham* AS Chr. [E]; 1086 *Cosseham* DB; 1130 *Cosseham* H. Pipe R; 1157 *Cosseham* Cal. France; 1194 *Cossam* Rot. Cur.; 1225 *Corshā* R. fin. exc.; 1230 *Cosham*, *Corsham* Ch. R; 1243 *Corsham* ib.; Edw. I *Cossam* Plac. Warr.; 1284, 1302, 1309, 1310 *Cosham* ib.; 1316 *Cosham* FA; 1334 *Cosseham* Rot. Orig.; 1394 *Cosham* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Cosham* FA.

The first element is difficult to account for. The old forms quoted show that it cannot possibly have the same first element as *Corsley*, *Corston*, or *Corton* (below). *Corsham* may therefore be derived either from **Cusan hām*, *Cusa* being recorded as an OE p. n., or from **Cosan hām*, **Cosa* being perhaps a hypocoristic form of the Celtic *Cospatrie*. The change of *Cos* > *Cors-* may simply be due to the influence of *Corsley* and *Corston*. In DB the King is mentioned as chief tenant here.

Note. It is obvious that *Corsham* cannot be identical with (to) *cortes hamme* CD no. 436, as has been suggested by Kemble. The latter place was moreover situated in the extreme south of the county (in the vicinity of Bower and Broad Chalk).

Corsley WNW of Warminster.

1086 in *Corselie* DB; 1166 *Corselea* Pipe R; 1232 *Corsleghe* Ch. R; 1233, 1245 *Corsleg* ib.; 1265—70 *de Corsleyghe* Macray; c. 1290 *Corsle Magna* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Corseleghe* FA; 1369 *Cossleye* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *Corsle Magna* FA; 1428 *Parva Corsleghe* ib.

This name may be derived from **cors-lēah* (-lēaze), *cors* being the same Celtic word that seems to occur in the following name, but we may also assume an original **æt Corsan lēaze* [*Corston* (W. of Bath), Soms., occurring as

Corsan tūn (on *corsan streame*) CS nos. 767, 1287]. Whether *Corsan* is identical with the above-mentioned Celtic word or is a p. n., it is impossible to determine.

Corston S of Malmesbury.

1065 *Corstuna* CD no. 817; 1086 in *Corstone* DB; 1317 *Crostone* C. Inq.

The place is situated on an affluent of the Lower Avon, which is now called 'Gauze brook'. This stream is no doubt identical with (†)*Corsaburna*, †*Corsborne*, mentioned in CS nos. 103, 470, probably also with †*Corsbrok* CS no. 922, †*Coresbrok* CD no. 632 (see besides Akerman's map in *Archæologia* XXXVII: I). The first element is most probably a Celtic word, the same as Welsh *cors* = 'bog', 'marsh'; see Pughe-Pryse.

Note. *Corsantune* CD no. 457 is not identical with this place, as is stated in Kemble, but with Corston, Soms.

Corton or **Cortington** SSE of Heytesbury.

1086 *Cortitone* DB (prob. identical); 1130—35 *Cortun* Osmond; c. 1290 *Cortynghon(e)* T. Eccl.; Edw. I *de Cottynghon* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *de Cortone* FA; 1428 *Cortynghon* ib.

Originally **Cortinga tūn*, *Corting* being certainly a patronymic of the Frisian p. n. *Cort* (*Coert*, *Curt*), for which see Winkler, p. 219, and Stark, p. 136. The same p. n. occurs in *to cortis hamme* CS no. 917, which was situated in south Wilts. (in the vicinity of Bower and Broad Chalk), probably also in †*Cortimæde* ib. 1009 (near Bath, Soms.)¹.

¹ This explanation of the latter name seems far more plausible than the one given by Middendorff, p. 30, according to whom the first element contains an unrecorded OE adj. **cort*, parallel to OFris., OS *kurt*, OHG (MHG, mod. G) *kurz* (adopted from Lat. *curtus*). As a matter of fact, there is no evidence in support of an OE **cort* (**curt*); *cortimæde*, which is the only name that Middendorff adduces to support his assumption of this adj., is quite satisfactorily explained as above.

Corton E of Hilmarton.

1086 *Crostone* DB (prob. identical); 1428 *Corston* (twice) FA.

The original form may have been **crost-tūn*. OE *crost* (= *rōd*), found only in local nomenclature, is, according to NED, the Norse *kross*, which is adopted from OIrish *crois*. In the present case, however, *crost* is naturally to be considered as an ordinary Celtic survival, as the Wilts. pl. ns seem to be quite free from Scand. elements (except p. ns).

Corton offers an example of the omission of a stem *-s* in the middle of a pl. n. (another instance is *Gardone*, the DB form of *Garsdon*; see below). How are we to explain a loss of this kind? In connection with *Alderbury*, attention has been drawn to the common omission of the gen. *s* of a p. n., when it occurs as a first element in pl. ns. In the light of this, a plausible reason for the loss of a stem *-s* in such cases as *Corton*, *Gardone* would be that the first element even in these names has been considered by the Anglo-Normans as the gen. of a p. n. and treated as such.

Note. The numerous cases in which an unetymological *s* has been inserted in the composition-joint, on the other hand, ought to be explained simply as due to analogy with those pl. ns which have a gen. *s* after the first element, i. e. exactly the same explanation as has been given for the intrusive *-ing-* (*-in-*) suffix in such forms as ME *Geresindon* (= *Garsdon*), *Lutlyngton* (= Littleton Drew), mod. *Sherrington*, *Uppington*, etc., viz. the analogy of pl. ns, in which the first element is a patronymic.

Coulston, East and West SW of Potterne.

1086 *Covelestone* DB; 1199? *de Coueleston* Rot. Cur.; c. 1290 *de Covelestone* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Coueleston* Ch. R; 1316 *Couleston* FA; 1324 *Couueleston* Fine R.; 1428 *Couueleston*, *Coueleston* FA.

Obviously from **Cufeles tūn*, **Cufel* being a diminutive of the p. n. *Cufa*. *v* has here been vocalized to *u* in ME, which *u* together with the preceding one has given *ū*. Cf. *Cowesfield*, below, and *Cowley* Oxfs. (< **æt Cufan lēaze*) (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 86); cf. also NE *hawk* (< *hafoc*).

Cowage another name for Bremilham.

1275 *at Cowiche* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Cowyk* T. Eccl.; 1540 *Cowych* Dugdale.

From OE *cū* (= cow) and *wīc* (here to be taken in the sense of 'farm'). The mod. *-age* is due to weakening. Cf. Burbage.

Cowbridge near Malmesbury.

1409 *Coubryge* Phillipps' fines; (n. d.) *de Coubrigg(e)*, *de Choubrigge* Reg. Malm.

No comments necessary.

Cowesfield E of Whiteparish.

1086 *Colesfelde* (possibly identical), *Cuulestone*¹ DB; 1166 *Cuuelesfeld* Pipe R; 1206 *in Culefeld* R. L. Cl.; 1217 *Cuuelesfeld* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1272 *Colneston Sturmy*² (corrupt), *Coleston Spileman*², *Coleston Loveraz*² Pat. R; 1291 *Colesfeld* Cl. R; 1294 *Covelesfeld* Cal. Inq.; 1316 *de Couelesfelde* FA; 1319 *Covelesfeld* Pat. R; 1337 *Cuuelesfeld Loveras* Ch. R; 1402 *Coulesfeld Sturmy et Spylman*, *C. Loveras* FA; 1490 *Coulesfild Esturmy*, *Coulesfeld Spilman* C. Inq.

The first element is no doubt the same as in *Coulston*. The name is consequently derived from **Cufeles feld*. The loss of *l* in the present name, as compared with its survival in the case of *Coulston*, is due entirely to sound-physiological reasons³. 'Esturmy' (Sturmy), 'Loveras', and 'Spileman' are family names, the two former AN, the latter Continental-Germanic.

¹ On account of the different terminations there may naturally be some doubt about the identity here too, but the places were at least situated in the same hundred (Frustfield), and the first elements are undoubtedly the same. Cf. the forms quoted from Pat. R.

² Identical according to the editor of Pat. R.

³ If *l* had been kept in the present name, a much more difficult combination of sounds would have arisen than in the case of *Coulston* (on account of the fricative *f*).

Cricklade [*krikleid*].

[904] *ad Cricaladam* Asser; [905] *to Crecca gelade* A. Chr. [Ā], *to Creocgelade* ib. [D]; [1016] *æt Cricgelade* ib. [D], *æt Cræci-lade* ib. [E], *æt Crecalade* ib. [F]; 1086 *de Crichelade* DB; 1130 *Grechelada*, *Crekelade* Macray; c. 1170 *Criechelada* Cal. France; 1231 *Crikelad* Ch. R; Hen. III *Kerkelad'* Rot. H; 1255 *de Crikkelade* Pat. R; 1260 *Kyrkelad* ib.; 1276 *Crekelad* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Creekelade* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Crekklade* FA; 1319 *Kirikelade*, *Creeklade* Cal. inq. da.; 1376 *Crekke-laude* Phillipps' fines.

The first element of this name is certainly not Germanic, for the mere fact that we find such a variety of spellings in the AS Chr. indicates that it did not contain an element which was part of the AS vocabulary. The name has already been the subject of some discussion. Thus, Mc Clure, p. 261, foot-note 3, takes *Crick-* to be connected either with Welsh *craig* = 'rock', or with *cruc* = 'mound'. Pearson, p. 11, also identifies the element with *craig*. These suggestions seem, however, most unlikely, particularly when compared with the explanation given by Duignan in connection with his discussion of the etymology of *Penkridge* (Notes on Staffs. Pl. Ns, p. 115 f.). According to him, *Crick-* is a Celtic word, meaning 'boundary', 'frontier' (the same as Irish *crioc*, *crich*); see Stokes, p. 98. Consequently *Cricklade* would originally indicate 'the boundary between Mercia and Wessex, which was formed by the Thames (OE *ȝelād* here = 'water-way'; cf. *Chapmanslade*, *Chicklade*). *Crekkelaude* (Phillipps' fines) indicates retention of the long vowel in the termination; cf. *Chicklaude* FA (*Chicklade*). The form *Grechelada* (Macray), if not a mere error, may be due to popular etymology; (according to Camden, p. 102, a Greek school is said to have been founded here by a certain Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury).

Crockerton S of Warminster.

1350 *Crokerton* Phillipps' fines; 1463 *Crokerton* Cal. Inq.; 1467 *N. Crokerton* Br. Mus.; 1495 *Crokerton* C. Inq.

Originally **croccera* (or possibly *crocceres*) *tūn*. OE **croccere* [a nomen agentis from *crocc(a)*] = 'potter'. This explanation of the first element seems far more probable than assuming with Roberts, p. 52, a p. n. **Crochere*.

Crofton ENE of Burbage.

1194 in *Corftōn* Rot. Cur. (possibly ident.); 1283 *Crofton* C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 *Crofton* FA.

Originally **croft-tūn* (= enclosed croft).

Crouchston E of Broad Chalk.

1328 *Crucheston(e)*, *Crouchston* C. Inq.; 1340 *Crucheston* Phillipps' fines; 1373 *Cryucheston* ib.

The etymology is obscure.

Crudwell N of Malmesbury.

854 †*at Croddewelle* CS no. 470; *at Criddanwyllle* Thorpe; 901 †*de crud(d)ewelle* CS no. 586; [956 †*Cruddesetene imere* CS no. 922]; 1065 *Creddewilla* CD 817; 1086 *Credvelle* DB; 1180 *Credewella* Pipe R; 1194 *de Credewalle* Rot. Cur.; 1222 *Credewell(e)* Macray; c. 1290 *de Crudewelle* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Credewell* FA; 1428 *Crudewell* ib.

The fact that this place is situated near the source of one of the head-streams of the Thames points to the probability that the first element represents the ancient (Celtic) name of this stream (the mod. name is 'Swill brook'). This supposition is strongly supported by the term †*Cruddesetene imere* (= *gemāere*) CS no. 922 (in the same neighbourhood), *Cruddesetene* (originally gen. plur.) probably denoting 'the people living on this stream'; cf. *Wilsætan* AS Chr. A. D. 800 (see Introduction) and †*fromesetinga* (gen. plur.) CS no. 1127 (referring to the r. Frome, Soms.).

Dauntsey [*daan(t)si*] SE of Malmesbury.

850 †*Dometesig* CS no. 457; †(*de*) *Daunteseye*, †(*in*) *Dameteseye* ib. no. 458; †(*de*) *Damices eye*, †(*in*) *Dameces eye* CD no. 263; 854 *at Domeccesige* CS no. 470; 1065 †*Dometesig* CD no. 817; 1086 *Dantesie* DB; 1142—50 *Dantesia* Osmond; 1162 *Danteseia* Pipe R; 1178? *Dantesi* Br. Mus.; Hen. III *Dantese* C. Inq.; 1257 *of Donteseye* Cat. A. D.; 1270 *Dauntesa* (lat.) Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Daunteseye* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Dauntsey* FA.

Originally **Dōmices* *īeȝ* (*īeȝ* here = 'marshy land', as is always the case in Wilts. pl. ns). **Dōmic* is to be regarded as a diminutive form of **Dōma* (< **Dōma*), a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with *Dōm*- (e. g. *Dōmfrith*, *Dōmhere*). For the diminutive suffix *-ic* (*-ec*) see Eckhardt, p. 345. The fact that OE *ō* before nasals only occurred as a variant of *a* (W. Germ. *ō* before nasals > *u* in OE) explains the *a* vowel in the first syllable. The *m* has in the earliest ME been changed into *n* by assimilation with the following (*tf*). Moreover, the fricative (*f*) has disappeared through assimilation with the following *s*. [*t* for *c* in the earliest of the forms quoted above may naturally as well be due to orthographical confusion, on account of the similarity of these two letters. Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 32, gives several examples of such errors.]

au is due to AN influence; see Zachrisson § 9.

Dean, West SE of Salisbury.

1086 *Duene* DB; 1269 *Westdune* C. Inq.; 1281 *Dene*, *Deone* ib.; 1296 *Westdoene* Pat. R; 1309 *Westdeene* C. Inq.; 1314 *at Westdune*, *Dene*, *Duene* ib.; 1320 *Westden* Pat. R; 1324 *Deone* FA; 1371 *Westden* Br. Mus.; 1402 *Deone* FA; 1485 *West Dene* C. Inq.

OE *denu*, *dene* (= valley), the place being situated in the valley of an affluent of the r. Test. The ME forms give a good picture of the complete confusion of *don* (OE *dūn*)

and *dene* (OE *denu*, *dene*) which is so common in English place-nomenclature.

Deptford [*detfə(r)d*] on the Wiley near Fisherton Delamere. 1086 *Depeford* DB; 1236 *Depeford* Ch. R; early 14th cent. *Dupeford* TN; 1316 *Depeford* FA; 1386 *Deopeford* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Depeford* FA.

Originally **se dēopa ford*. In the NE pronunciation the *p* has been replaced by *t* for sound-physiological reasons. For *u* as a representative of OE *eo* see under Bemerton.

Derriads SW of Chippenham.

1227 *Derierd* Ch. R.

This single ME form which has been found indicates that the termination was OE *ǵeard* (*ǵeardas*?) = 'enclosed place', the loss of *r* in the mod. form being due to weakened stress. The plur. *s* may quite well be of a later date. The first element may go back either to *dēor(a)* (cf. e. g. *on deor leage* CS no. 1108, *Deorham* ib. no. 1282) or to *Dēoran*, gen. of *Dēora*, a pet-form of some p. n. beginning with *Dēor-*, of which there are a great number.

Devizes [*dəv-aɪzɪz*].

1141—42 *Divisas* Br. Mus.; 1146 *Divisis* Macray; 1149 *Divises*, *apud Divisas* ib.; 1227 *Devizes* Ch. R; 1229 *Devises* ib.; 1279 *Divises* C. Inq.; 1290 *Dyvises* Br. Mus.; 1331 *Vises* Cl. R; *La Wyse* C. Inq.; 1333 *Dyvyses* ib.; 1472 *the vyse* Cat. A. D.; 1485 *Le Devisez* C. Inq.

This name, which has been discussed by Guest, p. 254 f., and by Zachrisson, *Anglia* XXXIV, p. 319, is an anglicization of the OFrench plur. *devises*, and here certainly denotes some boundary line. The suggestion offered by Guest and Zachrisson that the present name may have originally indicated the frontier forest between Wales and Wilts. seems, however, not to fit in with the geographical conditions. It may rather have referred simply to some

boundary line between two properties, a meaning of *devise*, *d'vise*, which is still retained in Normandy.

For the French article and the shortened ME forms see Zachrisson, loc. cit. According to Guest, p. 255, *Devizes* was founded in the 12th cent.

Dilton SSW of Westbury.

1221 in *Dultun* R. fin. exc.; 1249, 1264, 1275 *Dultun* C. Inq.; early 14th cent. *Dolton* TN; 1324, 1402, 1428 *Dulton* FA.

The most plausible etymology of this name is **Dyllan tūn*, the first element being a p. n., the same as the one contained in *Dillington* Hunts. (< **Dyllinga tūn*, see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Hunts., p. 349), and *Dullingham* Cambs. (< **Dyllinga hām*, Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs., p. 22). It is very probable, as Skeat has suggested, that this p. n. is a nick-name, identical with the ME adj. *dill*, *dylle* (= dull), which point to an OE **dyl*, *dylle* (< **duljo-*), cognate to OE *dol* (< **dulo-*); see 'dull' NED. Whether the element *Dil-* in the p. ns *Dilmun* (**Dilmund*) and *Dilra* is the same, it is impossible to say. *o* in *Dolton* (TN) stands for *u*, which has been considered as original, (a not infrequent mistake).

Note. *Dilworth*, Lincs., of which Wyld gives an unsatisfactory explanation, probably contains the same first element. *o* in ME *Dolleworth* (quoted by Wyld) is in that case easily explained (as in *Dolton*).

Dinton W of Wilton.

1086 *Domnitone* DB [partly corrupt]; 1268 *Donington* Pat. R; 1316 *Donington* FA; 1324 *Donynton*, *Dynton* ib.; 1375 *Dunynton* Cl. R; 1428 *Donyngton* FA; *Dunyton* Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1492 *Dynton* C. Inq.

On account of the comparatively great number of forms with *o* in the first syllable, it seems necessary to assume an original name of two types: **Dunninga tūn*

(without mutation), and **Dyninga tūn* (which has survived). The patronymic is formed from the p. n. *Dunn* (*Dunna*).

On *-i-* for medial *-ing-* in DB see Zachrisson, *Stud. i mod. språkvæt.* V, p. 10 f.

Ditchampton [— ′ —] near Wilton.

1045 *æt Dichæmatune* CD no. 778; 1086 *Dechementone*, in *Dicehantone* DB; 1195 *de Dichamtoñ* Feet of fines; 1428 *Dychampton* FA; 1491 *Dychehampton* C. Inq.

The CD form is obviously the original name. *Dīc-hāma* (beside **Dīc-hāmena*, a form which is indicated by the first DB form) is the gen. of **dīc-hāme*, a plural *i*-stem like *Engle*, *Mierce*, *Norðhymbre*, etc. (consequently denoting 'the inhabitants of **dīc-hām*'); see on this point Napier & Stevenson, *Crawf. ch.*, p. 116 f., where several instances of a similar formation are given.

Association with the common element *-hampton* has then taken place in the earliest ME (cf. *Beckhampton*).

Ditteridge or Ditcheridge near Box.

1086 *Digeric* DB; 1167 *Digeriga*, *Dicherigga* (latinized forms) Pipe R; 1284 *Ditherigg* Cl. R; 1285 *in Dichrugge* Ch. R; 1375 *Dykerigge* Cal. Inq.; 1378 *Dicherich* ib.; 1428 *in Dykerygge* FA; 1443 *Dykerygge* Cal. Inq.

From **dīc-hrycz*, the sense of which is obvious. The change of *tʃ > t* in *Ditteridge* is due to dissimilation with the final fricative consonant.

The medial *e* is merely a connecting vowel.

Note. Alexander is certainly incorrect in explaining *Ditchley* (Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 94) from **dīce-lēaze* or **dīca-lēaze* (*dīce* being the gen. of the fem. *dīc*, and *dīca* gen. plur.), for these forms would on the contrary have given mod. **Dickley*. OE *dīc-lēaze*, on the other hand, would become *Ditchley* by the influence of the independent subst. *dīc* (> *ditch*).

Donhead St. Andrew } ENE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).
Donhead St. Mary }

871 †*Dunheued*, †*Dunhefda* (latinized) CS no. 531; 955 †*to dun heafdan* ib. no. 917; 956 †*Dunheued* ib. no. 970; 1086 *Duneheve* DB (partly corrupt); 1199 *Dunneheued* Feet of fines; 1235 *Dunheved* Pat. R; Hen. III *Doneheved* Rot. H; 1279 *Donhaved* C. Inq.; 1284 *de Donhevede* (alias *Dunhefd*) ib.; c. 1290 *Dunhef(de Scē Marie)* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Dounheved* FA; 1334 *Dounhevid* Cat. A. D.; 1345 *Donehevede St. Andr'* Cal. Inq.; 1364 *Dounhead St. Mary* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Dunhed Andree, D. Marie* FA.

From **dūn-hēafod* ('head or top of a down'). -*heafdan* in the 955 form may stand for the dat. plur. -*heafdum*, but it may quite as probably be explained in the same way as *Brytfordan* and *Cellanwirdan* (see Britford and Chelworth). The distinctive names refer to churches.

Downton SSE of Salisbury.

about 670 (*to*) *Duntun(e)* CS no. 27; 826 *Duntun* ib. no. 391; 905 *to Duntune* ib. no. 690; 909 *Duntun* ib. nos. 620, 621 (prob. identical); 948 *in Duntune* ib. no. 862; 997 *æt Duntune* CD no. 698; 1086 *Duntone* DB; 1199 *de Dunneton* Feet of fines (prob. identical; cf. *Dunneheued*, above); 1284 *Dunton* Ch. R; 1316, 1402 *Dounton* FA.

The sense is obvious.

Note. Kemble's identification of *Duntun*, in the charters nos. 599 and 610, with this place is not convincing.

Draycot Cerne N. of Chippenham.

1086 *Draicote* DB 74 c; c. 1170? *Draicot* Osmund; c. 1180 *Draycotha* (latinized) Macray; 1228 *Draycot* Ch. R; 1304 *in Draycote* ib.; 1402 *in Draycote Cerne* FA.

Originally **dræȝ-cot(e)*. The element *dray* (OE **dræȝ*), which occurs both in *Draycot(t)* and *Drayton*, two very common pl. ns all over England, is difficult to account for. It seems likely, however, as Skeat (Pl. Ns of Cambs.,

p. 9) has suggested, that this word is connected with the dialectal *dray* (of unknown origin) = 'a squirrel's nest', a probable sense of the element *dræg* in pl. ns being therefore, according to Skeat, 'place of shelter', 'retreat'. However this may be, the fact that the element in question is so common in pl. ns, while there is otherwise no trace of it in the language, indicates that it is a Celtic word. As a second element it occurs in *Dundræg* CD no. 816 (probably = Dundry, Soms.). 'Cerne' was a French family name.

Draycot Fitz Payne NW of Pewsey.

1086 *Draicote* DB 66 b (prob. identical).

See preceding name. 'Fitz Payne' is a French family name.

Draycot Foliat SSE of Swindon.

1086 *Dracote* DB 71 b (partly corrupt); Edw. I in *Draycote* Plac. Warr.; 1307 *Dreykote Folyoht* C. Inq.; 1309 *Draicote Foliot*, of *Dreicote* ib.; 1327 *Draycote Folyot*, *Dreycote F.* ib.; 1428 in *Draycote* FA.

See Draycot Cerne. For the distinctive name see Chilton Foliat.

Dunkirk near Devizes.

Although no early references have been found to this small place, I have preferred not to leave out the name on account of its great interest. It is obvious, that this place has been named by the Anglo-Normans after the Flemish *Dunkerque* (*Dunkirk*). Dunkirk in Kent, Glos., and Staffs. are certainly all to be explained in the same way.

Durnford SSW of Amesbury.

1086 *Diarneford*, *Darneford* DB (prob. identical); 1142—50 *Derneford Sancti Andreae* Osmund; 1158 *Durneford* ib.; c. 1163 *Durneford* Macray; 1198 *Derneford* Feet of fines; c. 1220 *Deorneford* Macray; c. 1235 *de Derneforde* ib.; c. 1290 *Durneford* Br. Mus.; 1308 *Great Durneford* C. Inq.; 1309 *Derneford* ib.; Edw. III *Deorneford* NI; 1428 *M:a Durneford*, *P:a D.* FA; 1540 *Durnesford* Dugdale.

From an original **se dierna* (*dyrna*) *ford* ('the secret or hidden ford'). The first element is rather common in Engl. pl. ns. Beside its regular OE forms *dierne*, *dyrne*, *derne*, there must, however, have existed (sporadically) the variants **dearne*, **deorne*. This is indicated by the ME *dearne*, *deorne* (*beside derne*), which are also represented among the ME forms above [cf. also (†)*deornan mōr* CD no. 570, p. 78, (†)*diornanwiel* CS no. 200]. These unmutated forms are certainly due to the analogy of OE *dearnunga*, *deornunga*, the adv. of *dyrne*; (for *eo* in the latter form see Bülbring § 144).

Durrington N of Amesbury.

1086 *Derintone* DB; 1178? *Durentona*, *Hinedorintona* Br. Mus.; 1199 *in Hinedurintoñ*, *Hindorintona*, *de Durintoñ* Rot. Ch.; c. 1200 *Derinton* Osmund; 1201 *de Derintoñ* R. Oblat.; King John *Durenton* Dugdale; 1215 *in Durintone* Macray; 1228 *in Dirintoñ* R. fin. exc.; 1256 *Durinton* C. Inq.; 1270 *Durentona*, *Hinedurintona*, *Hinedurnetona* Ch. R.; 1286 *Kingderinton*, *Hinderinton* ib.; c. 1290 *Diryngtone* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1324 *Durynton* FA; 1428 *Duryngton* ib.

Originally **Dyringa tūn*. Whether the patronymic is formed from *Dēora* (a shortened form of some name beginning with *Dēor-*), or from *Dyra* (found on a coin of the time of Æthelred II, and in the local *to dyran treowe* CS no. 721), it is naturally impossible to decide. It is, however, by no means impossible that *Dyra* is merely a variant of *Deora*, formed from *Dyring*, the patronymic of the latter name. Cf. *Tud(d)a*, **Tyd(d)a*, see Tedworth. For the *e*-vowel in the first syllable see under Biddestone.

How are we to explain the distinctive *Hin(e)*- (*King*-) in some of the ME forms? The Secretary of Wilts. Archæol. Soc., Rev. E. H. Goddard, has informed me that *Hin(e)*- can hardly be a misspelling for *King*-, as the place never seems to have been crown property; (this is also unlikely from the fact that only one form with *King*- has been

found). It appears, however, from Rot. Ch. and Ch. R that there were formerly two manors here, and it seems therefore probable that *Hine-* stands for the (ME) adv. *In*, *Inne*, *Hine-durinton* being the inner part of the land which is encircled by the bend of the r. Avon at this place. For the initial *h* see under Avon.

Earl Stoke or **Erlestone** SW of Potterne.

1239 *Erlestok* Ch. R; 1316 *de Erlestone* FA; 1325 *Erlystok* Cl. R; 1391 *Eorlestoke* Cal. Inq.; 1431 *Erlestok* Br. Mus.

Originally **æt eorles* (or *eorla*) *stoce*. OE *eorl* = 'a man of noble rank' (distinguished from a *ceorl* or 'ordinary free-man')¹. For OE *stoc* see under Baverstock.

Eastcott SE of Potterne.

1349 *Estcote* Cal. Inq.; 1500 *in Estcote* Br. Mus.; 1546—48 *in Escotte* ib.

No comments needed.

Eastcott near Swindon.

1488 *Escot* C. Inq.

Note. Kemble's identification of †*Estcote* CD no. 329, †*Eastcotun* ib. nos. 584, 817, †*Escote* ib. no. 585, and †*eastcoten* ib. no. 1099 with *Eastcott*, Wilts. (which of them he refers to we are not told) must be incorrect. Of these, *Estcote* no. 329, and *Eastcotun* no. 817 are obviously identical with *Eastcourt*, probably also *Eastcotun* no. 584 (see below). *eastcoten* no. 1099 was situated in south Beds. (see CS no. 659). *Escote* CD no. 585 seems impossible to identify. There are however no reasons for taking it to be one of the present *Eastcotts* in Wilts.

Eastcourt NE of Malmesbury.

901 †*de Escote* CS no. 586; 974 †*Eastcotun* ib. no. 1301 (prob. identical); 1065 †*Eastcotun* CD 817; 1222 *de Estcote* Macray; (n. d.) *Escote*, *Estcote* Reg. Malm.

¹ The late OE *eorl* denoting 'a Danish under-king' (see Björkman, *Loanwords*, p. 236) can hardly come into consideration here.

Originally **ēast-cot(e)*, with a late substitution of *court* for *cot*. *Eastcotun* may have been written under the influence of pl. ns in *-tun*.

Easton NE of Devizes.

1428 *Eston* FA.

Originally **ēast-tūn*.

Easton (Royal) E of Pewsey.

1232 *Eston* Ch. R; 1251 *Eston* ib. (prob. identical); 1349 *Easton* R. Pat.; 1428 *Eston* FA.

Jones states as his opinion (p. 228) that this place, not being specially mentioned in DB, may have been a portion of the large manor of *Otone* (mod. Wootton Rivers), of which the King himself was the chief tenant. This would consequently explain the epithet 'Royal'.

Easton Bassett E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

956 †to *Estune* CS no. 970; Edw. I in *Estone* Rot. H.

'Bassett' is an AN family name (see Berwick B.).

Easton Grey W of Malmesbury.

1086 *Estone* DB 72 c; Edw. I in *Eston' Grey* Plac. Warr.;

1316 *de Estone Grey* FA; 1323 *Estone Grey* C. Inq.

'Grey' is a family name.

Easton Piercy NW of Chippenham.

1086 *Estone* DB 70 b; *Estone* ib. 73 a (possibly); 1257 *Eston* C. Inq.

'Piercy' is certainly an AN family name, the same as 'Piers', 'Pierce' (see Bardsley).

Eastridge NE of Ramsbury.

1221 *Estrigg* Pat. R; 1316 *de Estrygge* FA; 1438 *Estrygh* Cat. A. D.

OE **ēast-hrycz*; *hrycz* = 'ridge' (of a down).

Eastrop near Highworth.

Hen. III or Edw. I *Estthrop* Br. Mus.; Edw. I in *Estthropp* Rot. H; 1328 *Estthtrop* Br. Mus.; 1333 *Estrop* C. Inq.; 1335 *Estthorp* Cal. Inq.; 1336 *Hestthorp* Rot. Orig.; 1352 *Estthorp* Phillipp's fines; 1402 *Estthropp* FA.

OE **ēast-þorp*(-*þrop*) = 'farm', 'hamlet'. *throp* > *trop* is due to AN influence; see Zachrisson § 2. Cf. Westrop, below.

Ebbesborne Wake on the r. Ebble near Alvediston.

about 670 (†)on *Ybbles burnan*, †on *Ebblesburnan* CS no. 27; 826 †to *ebles burnan* ib. no. 391; 902 †æt *Ebblesburnan* ib. no. 599 (prob. identical); 905 †on *Ebles burnan* ib. no. 690; 909 †in *Ebles burnan* ib. nos. 620, 621 (prob. identical); 948 †in *Ebles burnan* ib. no. 862; (†)on *Ybblesburnan* (†*Ebblesburnan*) ib. no. 863; 955 †of *ebbeles burnan* ib. no. 917; 956 †to *Ebblesburnan* ib. no. 962 (prob. identical); 957 †æt *Ebblesburnan* ib. no. 1004 (prob. identical); 961 †æt *Ebblesburnan* ib. no. 1071 (prob. identical); 986 †æt *Ebblesburnan* CD no. 655; about 995 †æt *Ebbelesburnan* ib. no. 1290; 997 †on *Ebblesburnan* ib. no. 698; 1086 *Ebblesborne* DB; 1184 *Ebleburn* Pipe R; 1205 *Ebblesburne* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1222 *Ebeleborn* Osmund; 1224 *Eleburne Wake* Macray (corrupt); 1243 *Ebleburne* Pat. R; 1250 *Ewelburñ*, *Evelburñ* R. fin. exc.; c. 1260 *Ebelesburne-wake* Macray; 1270 *Ebbelesburn Wak* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Ewlesburne Wake* Rot. H; early 14th cent. *Ebbesburn* TN; 1345 *Ebblesborneswake* Cl. R; 1402, 1428 *Ebblesbourne* (Wake); 1428 *Ebbesborn* FA.

Originally *æt *Yb(b)eles burne (burnan)*, viz. the affluent of the East Avon which is now called 'the Ebble'¹. **Yb(b)el* is a diminutive form of the common OE p. n. *Ub(b)a* [also occurring in *Upton* (Lovel); see below]. The development of the initial *y* into *e* cannot possibly be regular, because OE 'festes' *y* develops into *i* in the Wilts. dialects. The *e* in the

¹ This is evidently a back-formation from the original name.

present name must therefore be due to the influence of some special name or word, possibly that of the Continental p. n. *Ebulo* (see Forssner, p. 62), or perhaps rather of the subst. *ebb*. Cf. *Nettleton* < **Nyttelan* (*Nyttelinga*) *tūn*, in all probability from association with the subst. *nettle* (see below). *v*, *w* in some of the ME forms is a mistake for *b*, *bb*.

The manor was in possession of the family of 'Wake' in the 13th and 14th cent. For this name see Bardsley.

Edington ENE of Westbury.

[878] *to Eþan dune* AS Chr. [Ā] (prob. identical); 880—85 *æt Eðandune*, †*de Ethandtune* CS no. 553 (prob. ident.); 957 *Eðandun* ib. nos. 999, 1347 (prob. ident.); 968 *Edyndon* ib. no. 1215; 1086 *in Edendone* (twice) DB; c. 1290 *de Edyngdone*, *Edinton* T. Eccl.; 1354 *Edyngdon* Cl. R; 1428 *Edyngdon* FA; 1432 *Edyngdon* Br. Mus.; 1485, 1496 *Edyngdon* C. Inq.

This place has been claimed as the scene of King Alfred's victory over the Danes in 878, on account of the ancient camp in the neighbourhood (at Bratton Castle). Among those who maintain this theory is Stevenson (*Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 273), where he also calls attention to the probability that *Eðandun(e)* CS nos. 553, 999, 1347 is the same place. *Eðan* may represent the gen. of a p. n. **Eða* of unknown origin. For the change of *ð* > *d* see Zachrisson, p. 97. The termination was originally *dūn*.

Eisey [aizi] near Cricklade.

775—778 †*Eseg*, (†)*Esig* CS no. 226 (prob. identical); 855 *æt †Esege* ib. no. 487 (prob. identical); 1086 *Aisi* DB; 1428 *Eysy* FA; 1540 *Eysy* Br. Mus.

The termination was certainly OE *īez* (= marshy land), the hamlet being situated on low ground near the Thames. For the etymology of the first element, it is impossible to make any suggestion from the evidence of the old forms which have been found. The modern pronunciation must be due

to the influence of *Isis*, the name of the branch of the Thames that passes here.

Elcombe SW of Swindon.

1086 *Elecome* DB; 1167 *Ellecūba* Pipe R; 1179 *Hellecumba* ib. (prob. identical); 1250 *Ellecumb* Ch. R; 1268 *of Ellecumbe* ib.; 1286 *Elecumbe* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Elecombe* FA; 1428 *in Elcombe* ib.

Probably from **Ellan cumb*; *Ella* is most probably a variant of *Ælla*, both being shortened forms of p. ns beginning with *Æl-*, *El-* [< *Æðel-*, *Eðel-*]; see Müller, p. 45. For the absence of *b* in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Elcot near Marlborough.

1402 *in Elcote* Cal. inq. da.; 1412 *Elcot* ib.

The ME forms quoted are obviously insufficient to explain the first element. It may, however, perhaps have contained the p. n. *Ella*, like *Elcombe*.

Elston on Salisbury Plain SE of Tilshead.

1298 *Winterborne Elston* Cal. Inq.; 1316 *Eliston* FA; 1378 *Eleston* Cal. Inq.; 1383–84 *Eliston* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Elyston* FA.

Jones, p. 227, states as his opinion that this place was included in the 'two knights' fees', held, according to TN 142, at Orcheston by Elya(s) Giffard. If this was the case, it is most likely that the place is named after him. The distinctive name refers to the stream on which the place is situated (see Winterbourne Stoke, below).

Enford N of Amesbury.

934 *Enedford*, to *Enedforda* CS nos. 705, 706; 1086 *Enedforde* DB; 1222 *de Eneford* R. L. Cl.; 1267 *Eneford* Macray; 1284 *Enesford* Ch. R; 1285, 1290 *Eneford* ib.; early 14th cent. *Enetford* TN; 1316 *de Eneforde* FA; 1333 *Enedford*

Phillipps' fines; c. 1350 *Eneford*, *Endford* Br. Mus.; 1375 *Endford* Phillipps' fines; 1494 *Enford* C. Inq.; 1540 *Endeford* Dugdale.

'The ford of the ducks'.

Erchfont see Urchfont.

Erlestoke see Earl Stoke.

Etchilhampton [locally called 'Ashelton'] ESE of Devizes. 1194 *Echehamt̃*, *de Ehelhātoñ* Rot. Cur.; 1227 *Hechelhamt'* Cl. R; 1279 *Echelhampton* C. Inq.; 1288 *Hichilhampton* Dugdale; 1316 *Echelhampton* FA; 1321 *Echelhamton*, *Hechelamton* C. Inq.; 1349 *Ethelhampton* Cal. Inq.; 1464 *Echelhampton vel Ethelhampton* ib.

Originally **Eccelan tūn* or possibly **Eccelan hām-tūn*; for the former derivation cf. Beckhampton. **Eccela* may be considered as a diminutive, probably of *Ecce* [for this p. n. see Müller, p. 52]. [The corresponding dim. of *Acce* would more probably have been **Æccela*; cf. *Æcci*] *Ethel-* for *Echel-* may be due to the common orthographic confusion between *c* and *t* (see under Dauntsey). The transition of *tf* > *f* in the modern pronunciation is explained by Zachrisson, p. 158 f., as an assimilatory process, which may easily have taken place when *tf* was followed by a consonant; cf. Wishford, below. For the initial *h* see under Avon.

Note. If *Ecesatingetone* in DB 69 b, 70 a, 74 a, is identical with this place, as Jones maintains, p. 213, the form in question must be corrupt.

Everley NW of Ludgershall.

704 †*Eburleagh* CS no. 108 (possibly identical); 1172 *Euerlai* Pipe R; 1265 *Everle* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Everle* T. Eccl.; 1296 *Evereley* Cal. Inq.; 1316, 1428 *Everle* FA.

Originally **æt Eoforan* (*Eofores*?¹) *lēaze*, **Eofora* being a

¹ This form is, however, less probable on account of the total absence of any trace of the strong gen. ending in the old forms. That the first element would denote 'wild boar' (OE *eofor*) seems quite excluded.

shortened form of such names as *Eoforhwæt*, *Eofuruulf*, etc. *Ebur-* in the CS form is a latinization of *eofor*.

Farleigh Wick or **Farleywick** NW of Bradford.

1393 *Farleghwyke* Cat. A. D.; 1396 *Farlewyk* Cal. Inq.

Originally this place was certainly called simply **wīc*, for which see Berwick B. Because of its proximity to [Monkton] Farleigh it was later called Farleigh Wick; cf. Bremhill Wick, Haydon Wick.

Farley E of Salisbury.

1086 *Farlege* DB 73 c (identical according to Jones); 1109—20 *Fernelega* Osmund; 1215—20 *Ferlega* ib.; 1227 *de Farleye* Macray; 1241 *Farle* Ch. R.; c. 1244 in *Farlege* Macray; 1287 *Farnle* C. Inq.; 1329 *Farlegh* ib.

From an original **æt* [þām, þære] *fearn-lēaze*. OE *fearn* (= fern) is a common element in English pl. ns.

Faulstone [fɔlst'n] SW of Salisbury.

Edw. I in *Fallerstone* Rot. H.; 1328 *Fallardeston(e)* C. Inq.; 1376 *Fallardeston* R. Pat.; 1421 *Fallerdeston* Cal. Inq.

The p. n. (*)*Fallard* (**Fallerd*), which is contained in this pl. n., seems to be introduced from France (on account of its first member, which can hardly be Germanic). Curiously enough, it has not been possible to find this p. n. in its independent form.

The termination corresponds to OE *tūn*.

Fifield [faifi(j)ld] near Enford.

1086 *Fifhide* DB 65 c; 1285 *Fifide* Ch. R.; Edw. I *Fifhide* Ep'i Rot. H.; 1494 *Fyffhyde* C. Inq. [prob. identical].

Originally **fif hīda*. A 'hīd' (earlier *hīzid*) was in OE times a measure of land, 'primarily the amount adequate for the support of one family with its dependants; at an early period defined as being as much land as could be

tilled with one plough in a year³; NED. The cognate OE *hūwisc* is synonymous in meaning. When *hīd* (*hīda*) occurs as a second element in pl. ns, it has as a rule not preserved its form unchanged in the modern name. Cf. Tilshead, Tinhead, below. The distinctive 'Ep[iscop]i' of the Rot. H form refers to the Bishop of Winchester, who is mentioned as the chief tenant here in DB.

Fifield Bavant W of Broad Chalk.

1086 *Fifhide* DB 70 c [identical according to Jones]; c. 1200 *Fifhide* Osmund; 1267 *Fiffide Escudemor* Ch. R; 1316 *Fifhide* FA; 1335 *Fifide* C. Inq.; 1428 *Fiffyde*, *Fyffide* FA.

See preceding name. The distinctive names are family names: 'Bavant' is French, 'Escudemor' [a Norman rendering of 'Scudamor(e)'] is stated by Bardsley to be native.

Figheldean [*faiældi(j)n*] N of Amesbury.

1086 *Fisgledene* DB (partly corrupt); c. 1115 *Ficheldene*, *Fikeldena* Osmund; 1157 *Fykeldene* Macray; 1222 *Fichelden* Osmund; 1226 *Fighelden*, *Fichelden* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1227 *Fikelden* Ch. R; 1229 *Fighelden* Pat. R; 1246 *Fichelton* Ch. R; 1252 *Fikelden* ib.; Hen. III *Ficledene* C. Inq.; 1267 *Fygheldene*, *Fycheldene* Macray; 1285 *Fyghelden* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Figheldon*, *Figheldene* T. Eccl.; 1310 *Fighilden* Ch. R; 1316 *Fyghelden* FA; 1320 *Fygheldene* C. Inq.; 1324 *Fyzelden* FA; 1428 *Fyghelden* ib.

Apparently from an original **Fyzelan dene* (*denu*), **Fyzela* being probably a diminutive of *Fuz*, occurring as the name of a witness in CS no. 91, or of **Fūza*, its weak equivalent, which seems to be contained in the local (on) *Fuzan biorge* CS no. 598.

-*ch*- is nothing but an AN spelling, probably due to some miscomprehension of the fricative [*gh*], and the fact that *ch* in early ME records has the double value of *tf* and *k* in this position accounts for the *k*-spellings also in the

present case. *z* for *g* in one of the FA forms is due to the orthographic similarity between these letters in the mss. *Fighel-* in the mod. name is an archaic spelling.

Fisherton Anger in the borough of Salisbury.

1086 *Fiscartone* DB (prob. identical); c. 1138 *de Fissertone* Osmund (or = F. Delamere); 1232 *Fiskerton* Ch. R (or = F. Delamere); 1272 *Fisserton* C. Inq.; 1279 *Fisshelton* ib.; 1285 *Fissereton* ib.; 1308 *Fiserton*, *Fyssehertone* ib.; 1309 *Fysscherton*, *Fysherstone* ib.; 1440 *Fissherton Aucher* Br. Mus.; 1487 *Fisherton Aucher* C. Inq.

From **fiscera tūn*. *sk* in *Fiskerton*, if not a mere spelling for *sh* (see under Steeple Ashton), is due to a native form with *x*, *ks* (see Björkman, *Loanwords*, p. 137). *l* for *r* in *Fisshelton* may be a substitution due to OFrench soundlaws (see Zachrisson, p. 142 ff.).

'Anger' seems to be a corruption of 'Aucher' ('Auger'), an AN family which has been in procession of the manor here (see TN pp. 140, 156).

Fisherton Delamere on the r. Wiley.

1086 *Fisertone* DB; Edw. I in *Fiskertone* Rot. H; c. 1290 *de Fissertone* T. Eccl.; 1318 *Fissherton* C. Inq.; 1324 *Fisscherton* ib.; 1491 *Fissherton Dalamare* ib.

See preceding name. 'Delamere' is an AN family name.

Fittleton SSE of Enford.

1086 *Viteletone* DB; 1219 in *Feteltoñ* R. fin. exc.; 1252 *Fitelton* Ch. R; 1275 *Fitelton* C. Inq.; 1279 *Fhytelton* ib.; 1284 *Fytelton*, *Fetelton* ib.; 1300 *Fiteleton* Cal. Inq.; 1302 *Fitilton* Cl. R; 1316 *Fydelton* FA; 1330 *Fidelton* C. Inq.; 1464 *Fetelton* Cal. Inq.

Originally **Fitelan tūn*, *Fitela* being a p. n. occurring in Beowulf and also in the local *fitelan sladaes crundæl* CS no. 705 (A. D. 934), which place was evidently situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Fittleton. Its strong

equivalent *Fitel* is on record in DB, Ellis, Intr. II p. 111, also rendered as *Vitel* ib., p. 249, the latter being the name of the tenant of the present place and of *Fisterberie* (Fosbury?) in the time of Edw. the Confessor¹. For further information on this p. n. see Binz, p. 191 f. As to *e* for *i* in some of the ME forms see Biddestone. For the interchange between intervocalic *d* and *t* in pl. ns see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkv. V, p. 8 f.

Flamston SW of Wilton.

Edw. I in *Flamberstone* Rot. H; 1354 *Flambardeston* Philipps' fines; 1428 *Flamberdeston* FA; 1440 *Flamberdeston* Br. Mus.; 1625 *Flamston* Br. Mus.

Flambard is a p. n. of Continental provenience; see Forssner, p. 89.

Fonthill Bishop E of Hindon.

Fonthill Gifford SE of Hindon.

900 (†)*Funteal*, (†)*Funtgeall* CS no. 590; 901—924 (†)*Funtial* ib. no. 591; Eadgar (†)*Funteal* CD no. 610 (possibly identical); 984 (†)*funtal* CD no. 641; 1086 *Fontel* DB 65 c (= F. Bishop); *Fontel* ib. 72 c (= F. Gifford); 1199 in *Funteſſ* Rot. Cur.; 1243 *Funtell* Pat. R; 1257 *Funtel* Ch. R; 1284 *Funtele* ib.; c. 1290 *Fontel* [Giffard] Br. Mus.; *Fontel Epi* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Fountell Gifford* FA; 1402, 1428 *Funtel(l)* *Episcopi* ib.; 1428 *Funtell Giffard* ib.

The first element may have been OE *font*, **fun*t (= fountain, well), but the second part of the name (which shows a great similarity to that of *Cherhill*) it seems impossible to identify. Moreover, the forms quoted from CS and CD are not much to base a theory upon, as the charters in

¹ That this *Vitel* should have given the place its name, as is supposed by Jones, p. 238, is, however, by no means certain, as the local *fitelan sladæs crundæl*, quoted above, proves that a person called *Fitela* lived here more than a cent. before the time of Edw. the Conf.

which they occur are obviously ME falsifications. It is quite clear, however, that *-hill* in the modern name (just as in the case of *Bremhill* and *Cherhill*) is a late development, due to popular etymology (referring to the hill close to Fonthill Gifford on which stands the sole relic of the old Fonthill abbey).

The distinctive 'Bishop' refers to the Bishop of Winchester, who obtained lands here in 900 (CS 590). 'Giffard' is an AN family name. In DB Berenger Gifard is mentioned as chief tenant at Fontel.

Fosbury S of Shalbourne.

1086 *Fostesberge* DB; *Fistesberie* ib. [prob. identical but corrupt]; 1199 *Forstesbia* Rot. Ch.; 1230—40 *Forstebery*, *Forstebere* Macray; 1270 *Forstesbyria* Ch. R; 1281 *Forstesberia* Br. Mus.; 1308 *Forstebury*, *Westeforstebury* C. Inq.; 1332 *Westforsteburi* ib.; 1428 *Fostebury* FA; 1486 *Fostebury* C. Inq.

From an original **æt Forstan byriz* (with an early substitution of strong for weak gen. ending), **Forsta* being, no doubt, a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with *Forst-*. Although no such names can be traced, there is little doubt that one or more of them may have existed. Whether *Frostulf*, found on a coin of the time of Æthelred II, is native or not, it is impossible to decide. Björkman, Pers. I, p. 44, gives this name as probably Scand., on account of the first member being *Frost-* and not *Forst-*. It is to be noticed, however, that there existed also a native OE *frost* as a variant of *forst* (although the latter is the more common). As far as the present pl. n. is concerned, it can hardly contain the Scand. p. n. (if this really existed), as all the ME forms have *Forst-*.

Fovant [*fovənt*] ESS of Hindon.

901 †*Fobbanfuntan*, †*Fobbefunte* CS no. 588; 994 †*to Fobbe-funtan*, †*æt Fobbafuntan* CD no. 687; 1086 *Febefonte* DB

(partly corrupt); 1194 *de Fobbefone* Rot. Cur.; 1267 *de Fofunte* Macray; 1280 *in Fovunte* Cl. R.; Edw. I *de Fofunte* Rot. H.; c. 1290 *de Foffunte* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Fovente* FA; 1329 *Foffonte* C. Inq.; 1428 *Fovent* FA.

Originally **Fobban font* (*funt*) [**æt Fobban fontum* (*fun-tum*)]. OE *font* (**funt*) = 'fountain', 'well'. The first element is certainly a weak p. n. **Fobba*, occurring also in *Fobban wylle* in south Wilts., mentioned among the boundaries of *Duntun* (= Downton) in CS nos. 27, 391, 690, 863, and CD no. 698. Note also the local *Fobbing*, Sussex (1320 *Fobbingge* C. Inq., *Fobbing* TN, Edw. III *Fobbynge* NI) and also *Fobinȝ* (Beds.) Pipe R. A. D. 1164, which evidently consist of the patronymic of the same p. n.

The development into *Fovant* is clear. The contraction by which *b* was lost seems to have taken place in the 13th cent.; as an immediate result of this contraction, the medial *f* become voiced. Later on the last syllable was weakened. The OE forms in *-funtan*, *-funten* probably represent the OE dat. plur.

Foxham NE of Chippenham.

1065 *Foxham* CD no. 817; 1219 *Foxam*, *Foxham* Macray; 1496 *Foxham* C. Inq.

OE **fox(a) hām*. Alexander's suggestion that *Foxcott*, Oxfs. may have meant 'a cot whose owner trapped foxes' seems very plausible, and the same explanation may be offered for the present name as well.

Foxley SW of Malmesbury.

1086 *Foxelege* DB; 1227 *Foxleghe* Ch. R.; c. 1290 *Foxle* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Foxele* FA.

Originally **æt fox(a) lēage*.

Fresdon [*frezd'n*] E of Highworth.

1262 *Fersedon* C. Inq.; 1307 *Fershesdon* ib.; 1335 *Freshedon* Phillipps' fines; 1343 *Freshesden* ib.; 1359 *Fershesdon* ib.; 1360 *Ferschedon* Cal. Inq.; 1376 *Fressheton* Cl. R.

The most plausible origin of this name that can be given is **fȳrs-dūn* [OE *fȳrs* = furze]. If this is correct, it appears, however, that the first element has been confused with the ME adj. *fers(c)h*, *fres(c)h* [NE 'fresh']¹, in which case the e-vowel in the modern form is also to be regarded as a result of this confusion. The possibility of OE *ferse* having formed part of the original name seems quite excluded.

Froxfield W of Hungerford (Berks.).

803--805 †*Forscan feld* CS no. 324; 1303 *Froxfeld* Ch. R; early 14th cent. in *Frockesfeld* TN; 1428 *Froxfeld*, *Froxefeld* FA.

Originally **froxa* (*forsca*) *feld* [OE *frox*, *forse* = 'frog']. *Forscan* in the quoted OE form is certainly a mistake for *Forse(a)*, due to the influence of the preceding *Mildanhald* in the OE charter. Cf. *æt Froxa felda* CS no. 1174.

Fugglestone St. Peter [*faulst'n*] near Wilton.

1208 *de Fugleston* Rot. Ch.; 1280 *Foleston*, *Fuleston*, *Foleton* Cl. R; c. 1290 *de Foghelestone* T. Eccl.; 1296 *Fouleston* Pat. R; 1376 *Fougheleston* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Fogheleston* FA; 1453 *Fowleston* Cal. Inq.; 1540 *Fouleston* Dugdale.

This name is to be derived from **Fuzules tūn*, *Fuzul* here being certainly the p. n. recorded in LVD; see Müller, p. 40 f. The modern spelling is obviously archaic, but the pronunciation shows regular development. Cf. *Foulston*, W. R. of Yorks, Moorman, p. 75. 'St. Peter' is the name of a church.

[Furzley SE of Downton.

This name is inserted only because of Kemble's identification of †*fȳrslege* CD no. 774, †*Furesleage* no. 1052, and

¹ The fact that *s* and *s(c)h* (*sc*) were not kept apart in AN orthography makes it easy to understand how a confusion of this kind might take place.

Fyrsleage nos. 1117, 1140 with this place; there seems, however, to be no reason for this statement, if we examine the charters in question. The modern form, however, indicates an original *æt fyrs-lēaze (OE *fyrs* = furze).]

Fyfield [faifi(j)ld] W of Marlborough.

c. 1290 *Fifhide* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Fyfhide* Ch. R (prob. identical); 1428 *Fyfyde* FA; 1559 *Fyfelde* Br. Mus.

See Fifield, above.

Garsdon E of Malmesbury.

701 †*Gersdune* CD no. 48; 1086 *Gardone* DB; c. 1291 *Geresdon*, *Geresindon* T. Eccl. (prob. identical); early 14th cent. *Gareston* TN; 1428 *Garesden* FA; (n. d.) *de Garesdone*, *de la Garstone* Reg. Malm.

Apparently from OE **gærs-(græs-)dūn* [*gærs*, *græs* = grass]. For the loss of the final *s* in the first element of the DB form see Corton, above. The intrusive *-in* (*-ing*) in one of the T. Eccl. forms, a not uncommon phenomenon in Engl. pl. nomenclature, is due to the influence of pl. ns in which the first element is a patronymic [cf. e. g. *Sherrington* < OE **scearn-tūn*, below].

Gastard SW of Chippenham.

1167 *Gatestert(a)* Pipe R; 1172 *de Gatesterd* ib.; 1177, 1178 *Gateherst* (twice) ib.; 1179, 1184 *Gatestert* ib.; 1230, 1233 *Gatestert* Ch. R.

In all probability from an original **gāt(a)-hyrst* [OE *gāt* = shegoat; *hyrst* = hurst, grove]. The first stage in the development of this name seems to have been early ME **Gateshyrst* (through insertion of an unetymological *s* in the composition-joint). After syncope of the medial *e* in this form, metathesis of *t* and *s* has taken place, the immediate result of which was **Gasterst* (the second element weakened) and

then **Gastert* (the loss of *s* being due to dissimilation with the preceding *st*). **Gastert* has then given mod. *Gastard* by further weakening of the second syllable. ME *Gatestert* must be explained as a contamination of the ME variants **Gates-herst* and **Ga-stert*; (cf. Bincknoll, above).

Goatacre SW of Wootton Bassett.

1348 *Gatacre* Cal. Inq.; 1408 *Gotagre* ib. (both prob. identical).

This name corresponds to OE **gāt-æcer*, the sense of which is obvious.

Gomeldon SE of Amesbury.

Edw. I in *Gomeledon* Rot. H: 1311 *de Gomeldone*, *Gomeledon* C. Inq.; 1326 *Gomeldon* ib.; 1658 *Gumbleton* Br. Mus.

The first element obviously contains the p. n. *Gamal*, *Gamel*, or perhaps rather its weak form **Gamela* (found in the latinized form *Gamelo*)¹. The p. n. is of Scand. origin: see Björkman, *Pers.* I, p. 45 f. The termination was OE *dūn*. For the inorganic *b* in the Br. Mus. form see Horn § 158, 2.

Gore NW of Tilshead.

1086 *Gare* DB; Edw. I *Gares* Rot. H; 1369 *La Gore* Cal. Inq.

OE *gār*. This name refers to one of those ridges of the downs which extend in parallel lines here and have much the same shape as spears.

Grafton, East and West near Burbage.

1086 *Graftone* DB; in *Grastone* (three times) ib.; 1130 *Graftona* H. Pipe R; 1222 *Graftuñ* R. L. Cl.; 1225 *Grafton* Pat. R; 1230—40 *de Graftone* Macray; 1308 *Westgraftone* C. Inq.; 1324 *Grafton* FA.

¹ The OE (poetical) adj. *gamel*, *gamol* can naturally not come into consideration here (cf. Aldbourne).

Either from OE **grāf-tūn* (*grāf* = grove) or from **græf-tūn* (*græf* = grave, trench), the latter alternative being, however, not quite so probable on account of the rocky nature of the soil. The common orthographic confusion between *f* and *s* is due to the similarity of these letters.

Greenhill near Wootton Bassett.

1408 *Grenehull* Cal. Inq.

No comments necessary.

Grims Ditch ancient earthwork near Salisbury.

956 *grimes dic* CS nos. 934, 985; 1045 *Grimes dīc* CD no. 778; 1387 *de Grymesdiche* Cal. Inq.

Grim is a p. n. of Scand. origin; see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 50. Cf. *Grims Dyke*, Oxfs. (also called 'Devil's Dyke'), which has obviously the same origin (*Dyke* representing the OE dat. form); see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 117¹.

Grimstead, East and **West** SE of Salisbury.

1086 *Gremestede* DB; *Gramestede* (twice) ib. [prob. identical]; 1160 *Grenested* Pipe R; 1162 *Gremesteda* ib.; 1167 *Grenesteda* ib.; 1200 *Grimestude* R. Oblat.; 1227 *Grymsted* Macray; 1243 *Grimisted*, *de Grimstede* ib.; 1245 *de Grymstede* ib.; 1258 *de Grimmested* R. fin. exc.; 1269 *Estgremsted* C. Inq.; 1281 *Est Grymstede* ib.; 1287 *Grimsted*, *Grymsteden*, *Westgrymsteden*, *Estgrymstede* ib.; 13th cent. *de Grenestede*, *Grimstede*, *Grinestede* Liber rub.; 1314 *Istgrimstede* C. Inq.; 1402 *de Westgrymstede* FA.

¹ The suggestion that *Grims Ditch* (*Dyke*) might contain OE *grīma* ('spectre'), the name consequently being equivalent to 'witches' work' (see Guest, p. 149, and Alexander, loc. cit.), seems most improbable. The alternative 'Devil's' (*Dyke*), which has suggested this explanation, may be due simply to old traditions about the origin of the earthwork in question. The explanation of the element *Grim-* offered by Guest, p. 150 f., seems too improbable to be discussed.

Originally **Grimes stede* [OE *stede* = place]. For *Grim* see preceding name. *Gren-* (*Grin-*) for *Grim-* in some of the ME forms must be a pure mistake, perhaps due to association with the two *Grinsteads* in Sussex, for which see Roberts, Pl. Ns of Sussex, p. 74. For *e* as representing OE *i* in DB see Stolze § 9. *a* in *Gramstede* DB and the final *-n* in two of the C. Inq. forms are clearly errors.

Grittenham W of Wootton Bassett.

850 †*ad Gruteham*[*es suth hele*] CS no. 458 [prob. identical]¹; 1065 †*Grutenham* CD no. 817; c. 1290 *Gretenhām* T. Eccl.; [n. d.] *Grutenham*, *Gruteham*, *Grucenham* Reg. Malm.

The origin of this name is not clear. If, however, the first element represents a p. n., this was probably the same as is contained in *Grittleton*; see below. The termination seems to have been OE *hām*.

Grittleton NW of Chippenham.

940 †*at Grutelington* CS no. 750; 1086 *Gretelintone* DB; 1216 *Gretelinton* R. L. Cl.; Hen. III *Greteling(e)ton* Abbr. Plac.; 1324 *Gritelyngton* FA; 1330 *Gritelyngton* Ch. R.; 1337 *Gruttelyngton* Phillipps' fines; 1338 *Grutelyngton* Cl. R.; Edw. III *Grutlyngton* NI; 1428 *Gretelyngton*, *Grythyngton* FA.

The first element obviously contains the patronymic of a diminutive p. n. No suitable p. n. is, however, on record; [the Scand. *Gyrð* (for which see Björkman, Pers. I) can hardly come into consideration, as the old forms of the pl. n. have in every case *r* followed by the vowel]. We may therefore be allowed to construct a p. n. **Grut(a)* or **Gryt(a)*, which may be concealed in this pl. n. *Grittleton* may thus be derived from **Grytelinga tūn*. Cf. †(on) *Gretindune* CD no. 730, which seems to contain the same p. n. On the ME forms with *e* for *i* (*y*) in the first syllable see under Biddestone.

¹ The corresponding charter in CD has *Grete-* instead of *Grute-*.

Groundwell N of Swindon.

1086 *Grendewelle* DB; early 14th cent. *Grundewell*, *Grun-dewlle* TN; 1329 *Grundeswell* C. Inq.; 1428 *Grundewell* FA.

The termination is WS *wiell(e)*, *wyll(e)*. For the first element, it is, no doubt, the same as that which occurs in (*on*) *grinde wylls lace* CS no. 1093, *grindan broc* ib. no. 544, and *†grynden brok* ib. no. 1187 (the two latter representing one and the same brook in Hants.). The most probable explanation of the element in question is to assume, with Middendorff p. 61, an OE **grinde* f. (or **grinda* m.?) = 'gravel', 'shingle', cognate with *grindan*, on the ground of Frisian *grind*, *grint* (Middle Fris. *grinde*, *grint*)¹. The development into mod. *Ground-* is to be explained as due to popular etymology, caused by the AN spelling *Grund-* (*u* representing an older *y*). Cf. Roundway, below, the development of which seems to be quite analogous. For the *e* in the DB form see Stolze, p. 17.

Groveley (Wood) NW of Wilton.

940 *†grafan lea* CS no. 757; 1086 (*foresta de*) *Gravelinges* DB; 1160 *Grauelinȝ* Pipe R; 1161 *Grauel̃* ib.; 1167 *Grauelea* ib.; 1178? *Graueling* Br. Mus.; 1199 *Gravelinȝ* Rot. Ch.; 1222 *Graveling* Pat. R; 1229 *Gravening* Cl. R; 1270 *Graveling* Ch. R; 1280 *Gravelinges* C. Inq.; 1282 *-Gravelingges* ib.; 1283 *Groveley* ib.; 1288 *Gravele* ib.; 1289 *Gravelinge* ib.; 13th cent. *de Graveninge* Liber rub.; 1316 *Grovle* Cl. R; 1319 *Groveley* C. Inq.; 1341 *Grovle* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *Grovelegh* FA.

The CS form above does not allow us to assume OE *grāf* (= 'grove') as the first element of the original name. But the name is easily accounted for, if we assume an original **grāefan lēah* (**æt grāefan lēaze*), the first element

¹ related by gradation to Scand. and German. *grand* (of the same meaning).

being the gen. sing. of OE **grāfa* (or **grāfe f.?*) = 'brushwood' (only recorded in oblique cases). This word, which is cognate with OE *grāf* (NE 'grove'), exists at the present day as *greave* in the dialects; see NED, EDD, and Crawf. Ch. p. 61 f. The OE form assumed could certainly not have given *Groveley* by regular development, but what is more natural than a confusion in ME of the genuine first element and *grāf*, which had much the same meaning? *grafan* in the CS form is therefore to be considered as a ME falsification of the OE form. Pl. ns which seem to contain the same first element are *Graveney*, Kent, occurring as †*Grafan* æa (†*Grafon* æa) in several OE charters, and *Gravenhurst*, Beds., found as *Gravenhurst* Liber rub., *Gravenhurste* Cal. Inq. (this explanation of the latter name being more likely than the one given by Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds. p. 33).

The form *Graveling(es)*, which in the ME period seems to have been in frequent use beside the genuine name, must be due to the influence of *Gravelines*, the French (Flemish) seaport on the Channel (occurring in 1229 as *Graveling* Cl. R, 1241 *Graveninges*, *Graveling'* ib.). For the transition of *-ling* > *-ning* see Zachrisson, p. 140.

Hacklestone SSE of Enford.

1286 *Acleston* Cl. R; 1367 *Hackelston* Cal. Inq.; 1403 *Hakleston* Phillipps' fines; 1490 *Hacleston* C. Inq.

Originally **Hacceles* (*Hæcceles?*) *tūn*, or perhaps **Acceles* *tūn*, the first element being a diminutive formation of the p. n. *Hacca*, or *Acca*. The alternative **Acceles* *tūn* has been suggested for two reasons: 1) the fact that initial *h* is a rather unstable sound in the dialect of this district, 2) the adjoining *Haxton* (see below), which may have influenced the present name.

Ham S of Hungerford (Berks.).

931 æt *Hamme*, †*of Hame* CS nos. 677, 678; 1086 *Hame*

DB; 1284, 1300 *Hamme* Ch. R; 1316, 1428 *de Hamme* FA.

OE *ham(m)* (= 'enclosed meadow'); see under Bremilham.

Hamptworth ESE of Downton.

1269 *Hampteworthe* C. Inq.; 1281 *Hampteworth* ib.; 1428 *Hampteworth* FA.

Probably from **hām-weorþ*, which may have meant much the same as *hām-stede*, *hām-tūn*, viz. 'homestead'. An original **æt (þæm) hēan weorðe* is excluded in the present case because of the low situation of the place. Cf. Bathampton. The intrusive *-pt-* must be due to the influence of the common *Hampton*.

Hanging Langford NW of Wilton.

1337 *Honyngelangeford* Rot. Orig.; 1428 *Hangyng Langeford* FA; c. 1540 *Hanging Langforde* Leland.

The distinctive 'Hanging' refers to the situation of the place on a steep hill-side (below Grovely Wood); cf. *Hangindebluntesdon* TN (see Blunsdon). One of the *Langeords* in DB may also refer to this place, according to Jones that on fol. 68 d.

For further information see Steeple Langford.

Hankerton NE of Malmesbury.

680 †*de Hanekyntone* CS no. 59 A; 901 †*Hanekyntone* (†*Hanecintun*) ib. no. 589; 1065 †*Honekynton* CD no. 817; 1222 *Hanekinton* Macray; c. 1290 *Hanekenton* T. Eccl.; Edw. III *de Hanekyngtone* NI; 1367 *Hankynton* Cl. R; 1428 *Hanketon* FA; 1491 *Hankerton* C. Inq.; 1540 *Hankenton* Dugdale.

Originally **Hanecan* (*Hanecinga?*) *tūn*, **Haneca* being a diminutive of *Hana*, a p. n. which occurs on a coin of King Eadmund I, and also in the local *hanan welle* CS no. 588. The present diminutive is on record in *Hanecan hamme* CS nos. 821, 822, and another dim. form of the

same name is *Honoc* in LVD; see Müller, p. 73. The late change of *n* > *r* seems to be due to dissimilation with the *n* of the first syllable.

Hannington WNW of Highworth.

1086 *Hanindone* DB; 1226 *Hanendon* Pat. R; 1273, 1282, 1290 *Hanedon* C. Inq.; 1316 *Hanyngdon* FA; 1324, 1428 *Hanyndon* ib.; 1428 *Est Hanynton* ib.

From **Haninga dūn*; (the place is situated on a down). For *Hana* see preceding name.

Hardenhuish [locally called 'Harnish'] NW of Chippenham.

1086 *Hardenehus* DB; 1177 *Hardehiwis* Pipe R; 1257 *Herdenehywys* C. Inq.; 1290 *of Hardene Hywich* ib.; 1301 *Hardenhiwish* Ch. R; 1310 *Hardenhiwisch* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Hardnyshe* FA; 1428 *in Harden Hywysshe* ib.; 1490 *Hardenhysh* C. Inq.

Originally **Heardan* (or possibly **Heardinga*) *hīwisc*, **Hearda* being a pet-formation of some p. n. beginning with *Heard*-. OE *hīwisc* is cognate with *hīd* (*hīzid*) and was used as a synonym of this word; see Fifield.

Note. Birch's identification of †*heregeardingc hīwisc* CS no. 469 with *Hardenhuish*, Wilts., cannot possibly be correct, for, apart from the fact that there is nothing in the charter indicating this identity, it is to be noticed that even the oldest of the ME forms have *a* in the first syllable.

Harnham, East and West adjoining Salisbury.

C 1115 *Harnham* Osmund; Hen. III *Estharnham* Br. Mus.; 1272 *Harham, Est Harnham, West H.* C. Inq.; *Harham* Fine R.; 1273 *Harham* C. Inq.; 1277 *Westharham* Fine R.; c. 1290 *Harenh'm* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Westharnam* Pat. R; 1316 *West Harneham* FA.

This name may represent an original **Hāran hām* as well as **æt* (*þæm*) *hāran hāme*; OE *hār* (*hāra*) certainly occurs in a number of OE pl. ns (as appears from Kemble's

index); it seems, however, as though some of these pl. ns, on account of their second element, more probably contained a p. n. **Hara*, used as a nick-name (= 'the grey one'); such names are e. g. *haran dene* CD no. 133 and *haran lea* ib. no. 507.

Hartham NW of Corsham.

1086 *Heortham* (three times), *Hertham* (three times) DB (all these manors were probably at Hartham); 1181 *Hertham* Pipe R; 1272 *Hertham* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Hartham* Br. Mus.; 1316, 1428 *Hertham* FA; 1486 *Hertham* C. Inq.

From **heor(o)t(a) hām*; OE *heor(o)t* = 'hart', 'stag'.

Hatch S of Hindon.

1199 *de Hache* Rot. Cur.; 1282 *in Hacche* Ch. R; 1287 *de Hachche* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Hacche* FA; 1325 *Weshacch* C. Inq.; 1331 *Westhach* Phillipps' fines; 1378—84 *E. Hatch* Br. Mus.

This name answers to OE *hæc(c)* = 'hatch', 'gate', 'wicket'.

Haxton (Down) W of Ludgershall.

1172 *Hakenestan* Pipe R; 1212 *de Hakenestoñ* R. L. Cl.; 1239 *Hakeneston* Ch. R; 13th cent. *Hacnestone* Liber rub.; 1330 *Hakenestone* C. Inq.; 1365 *Hakenestone* Br. Mus.; 1454 *Hakyston* Cat. A. D. (prob. identical).

The first element contains the Scand. p. n. *Hacun*, *Hacon*, for which see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 60. The termination was probably OE *tūn*.

Haydon NW of Swindon.

c. 1290 *de Heydone* T. Eccl.; 1379 *Haidon* Br. Mus.; 1428 *in Haydone* FA.

Undoubtedly from OE **seo hēaȝe dūn* (the high down). As to *hēaȝe* for *hēa* see Sievers § 295, note I. Cf. Heywood and Highway, below.

Note. In this connection attention may be drawn to two Lancs. pl. ns: *Healey* and *Heywood*, which seem unsatisfactorily accounted for by Wyld. The former of these names seems to be a regular development from an orig. *æt (*þām*, *þāre*) *hēan lēaze*, in which case its ME forms beginning with *Hay*- (quoted in Wyld) are easily explained from *hēazan*, used as a variant of *hēan* in the original name. As for *Heywood*, it is certainly derived from OE **se hēaza wudu*.

Haydon Wick near Haydon.

1299 *Haydonwyk* Cal. Inq.; 1394 *in Haydone wyke* Br. Mus.; 1428 *in Haydoneswyke* FA.

The original name of this place must have been simply **wīc*, *æt (*þām*) *wīce*, for which see Berwick B. The distinctive name refers to the neighbouring Haydon. Cf. Bremhill Wick, Farleigh Wick.

Hazelbury N of Bradford(-on-Avon).

1001 †*at Heselberi* CD no. 706; 1086 (*de*) *Haseberie* DB (four times, all probably referring to Hazelbury); early 14th cent. *in Heselb'e* TN; 1316 *Haselbury* FA; 1324 *Hasselbury* ib.

Originally *æt [*þāre*] *hæsel-byriz*. Medial *l* in pl. ns is occasionally omitted in DB; see Stolze § 30.

Hazeldon near Tisbury.

Edw. I *in Haselden'* Rot. H; 1378—84 *Hazeldon* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Haselden* FA; 1493 *Hasilden* C. Inq.

Originally **hæsel-dūn* (the place being situated on the slope of a down).

Heddington N of Devizes.

1086 *Edintone* DB; 1237 *Hedlintun* Ch. R (corrupt); 1316 *Hedington* FA; 1320 *Hedynton* Pat. R; 1428 *Hedyndon*, *Edyngton* FA.

Most probably from **Hēdinga tūn*, the first element being a patronymic of **Hōd*, or **Hōda*. This p. n., which is

found in several OE local names, e. g. *Hodes ac* CS no. 1282, *hodan hlæw* ib. 899, *of hodes hlæwe* ib. 687, *hodes mære* ib. 1199, *hodan mære* CD no. 767, is probably the same as occurs in the mythological [*Robin*] *Hood*¹. Cf. Hodson, below. For the omission of *h* see under *Avon*.

Hewish see *Huish*.

Heytesbury SE of Warminster.

1086 *Hestrebe* DB (the termination corrupt); 1109—17 *Hehtredeberia* Macray; c. 1115 *Hegtredebiri* Osmund; 1158 *Hehtredebiri* ib.; 1159 *hehtreðia* Pipe R; 1165—70 *de Hegtredeberie* Osmund; 1179 *Hictredeberia* Pipe R; 1183 *Hichtredesberi*, *Heichtredeberi* ib.; 1194 *Hegtresbuř*, *de Hettredebrie*, *Hectresbri* Rot. Cur.; c. 1200 *de Hehtredeburie* Osmund; King John *Hecdredbere* Br. Mus.; 1214 *Hecthredebir* Rot. Ch.; 1226 *Hechgtredebirye* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1227 *Heitrebir* Cl. R.; 1269 *Hegtredeburi* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Heghtredebury* T. Eccl.; 1324 *Hezestebur(y)*, *Hegstredbur(y)* FA; 1328 *Westheghtre(de)bury*, *Istheghtredebury* C. Inq.; 1329 *Hextredbury* R. Pat.; 1383 *Heyghtredebury* ib.; 1384 *Heitredbury* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1402 *Heyghtresbury* FA; 1428 *Heghtre(de)sbury* ib.; 1533 *Heightredesbury*, *Heytysbury* Br. Mus.; c. 1540 *Heitredesbury* Leland.

The first element can hardly contain anything but the Scand. p. n. **Estrið* (occurring in DB as *Estred*, in Exon DB as *Estrit*; see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 38). In connection with the discussion of *Brigmerston*, attention has been drawn to the fact that the combination *st* may sometimes be an AN rendering of OE *ht*. In the light of this, the development of the present name is easily explained as due to an early substitution of the genuine *st* in the first element by *ht* (*ghht*), by which the first syllable must have coincided with the ME adj. *hegh* (*hey*). The few ME forms

¹ In some OE pl. ns **Hod* (**Hoda*) may actually refer to this mythological person himself, as is assumed by Bradley (Academy, Sept. 15, 1883) and Binz, p. 222, foot-note.

which reflect the original first syllable are, as is seen, those of DB¹ and FA (A. D. 1324).

The termination answers to OE *byriȝ*.

Heywood N of Westbury.

1224 *Heiwode* Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1460 *Heywode* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1496 *Hewode* C. Inq.

From an OE **se hēaȝa wudu*. Cf. Haydon. *e* for *ei* in *Hewode* may be an AN spelling; see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkv. V, p. 16.

Highway NE of Calne.

1086 *Hiwi* (prob. identical), *Hiwei* DB; 1214 *Iweia* R. Oblat. (latinized); 1219 *Hywey*, *de Yweye* Macray; 1220 *Hiweia* ib.; 1232 *Hyweie* Ch. R; Edw. I in *Heywaye*, *Hywey* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *de Hyweye* FA.

Originally **se hēa weȝ*, or rather **æt (þæm) hēan weȝe*. Unlike *Haydon* and *Heywood*, the first element has in this case been influenced by the independent adj.

Highworth

1086 *de Wrde* DB; 1091 *Wortha* Osmund; 1158 *Wrda* ib.; 1194 *de Wurþe* Rot. Cur.; 1231 *Hegworth* Cl. R; *Hauteworth* Pat. R; 1257 *Alta Whorth* Ch. R; 1262 *W(o)rthe* C. Inq.; 1276 *Worth* Br. Mus.; 1289 *Hautewrth* Pat. R; 1316 *de Heyworthe* FA; 1352 *Heygheworth* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Hyworth* FA.

The original name was obviously simply **weorþ* (*worþ*, *wurþ*, *wyrþ*), for which see Atworth. For *d* in *Wrde*, *Wrda* see Zachrisson, p. 115 f. In two of the ME forms the first element has been replaced by the corresponding French adj. *haut*.

¹ The initial *h* is here quite unimportant, *h* in this position being a most unstable element in the DB forms; see Stolze § 48.

Hilcott WSW of Pewsey.

1194 in *Hulcote* Rot. Cur. (prob. identical); 1316, 1428 *de Hulcote* FA.

OE **hyll-cot(e)*, the meaning of which is clear.

Hill Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 *Devrel* DB [see the foot-note under Brixton D.]; 1130—35 *Hull* Osmund; 1206 *Deverhill* R. L. Cl.; 1220 *Hull* Osmund; 1316 *de Hulle* FA; 1324 *Hulledeverel* ib.; c. 1330 in *Hulle Deuerel* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Hull* FA.

OE *hyll*. For the distinctive *Deverill* see Brixton D.

Hilmarton NNE of Calne.

1086 *Adhelmertone* (identical according to Jones), *Helmerintone*, in *Helmertune* DB; c. 1290 *Helmerton* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Helmerton* Ch. R.; 1428 *Helmerton* FA; 1576 *Hilmerton* Br. Mus.

From **Helmæres* [or possibly **Helmæringa*] *tūn*; **Helmær* (< **Helm-mære*) is not recorded in OE, but occurs in DB as *Helmerus* [Ellis, Intr. II, p. 335]. If Jones is correct in his identification of *Adhelmertone* [DB 71 d.], which it has been impossible for me to settle, the initial *Ad-* must naturally be the Lat. preposition, which has been taken as belonging to the name. For the raising of *e* > *i* in ME see Morsbach § 109.

Hilperton NE of Trowbridge.

1086 *Helprintone*, in *Helperitune*, in *Helperintone* DB; 1205 *de Helpringeton* R. Oblat.; 1285 *Hulprington* Cal. Inq.; 1288 *Hilprynton* Dugdale; c. 1290 *de Hulpryngtone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Hulprynton* FA; 1405 *Hulpryngton* Br. Mus.; 1415 *Hylprington* Cal. Inq.; 1423 *Hulperton* ib.; 1428 *Hulpurton*, *Hulpryngton* FA.

The original first element is made up of the patronymic of a p. n. beginning with *Help-* and with a second member beginning with *r*. *Helpric* is the only p. n. of this kind

which is on record in OE, but the compound **Helpred* may also have existed (cf. the Continental *Hilprad*, *Helfrat*; see Förstemann, Pers.). *Hilperton* is therefore to be derived from **Helpricinga* (or **Helpredinga*) *tūn*, the development being exactly analogous to that of *Alderton* (NW of Grittleton) and *Cholderton* (see above).

The *u*-vowel of the first syllable in some of the ME forms stands for a secondary *y* (< *i*). [For the change of *e* > *i* see Morsbach § 109.]

Hindon NE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1284 *Hyneton*, *Hynedon* Ch. R; Edw. I in *Hynedon* Rot. H; 1332 *Hynedon* Ch. R; 1401 *Hyndon* Br. Mus.; 1402 *Hyndon*. FA.

The etymology of this name is not quite clear. The first element seems, however, to be the same as in *Hinton*, Suffolk (DB *Hinetuna*), which name is derived by Skeat from OE **hīna tūn*, *hīna* (*hīzna*) being the gen. of *hīwan* (*hīzan*), a plur. subst. = 'members of a family or household', 'domestics' (cognate with *hīzid*, *hīd*).

The original termination was in that case probably *tūn*, as *dūn* would hardly give a likely meaning.

Hinton, Great ENE of Trowbridge.

1316 *Henton* FA; 1485 *Henton* C. Inq.; 1491 *Henton* Br. Mus.

This name is certainly of the same origin as (Broad) *Hinton*. It is a small village situated on the edge of a plateau.

Hinton, Little E of Swindon.

854 †*Hynyton*, †*Hyneton*, †*Hynetune* CS nos. 477, 478; Hen. III de *Hyneton* Rot. H; 1285 *Hyneton* Ch. R [prob. identical]; c. 1290 *Hyneton* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Hyneton* Ch. R; 1316 de *Hynetone* FA; 1428 *Hyneton* ib.

Probably from **hīna tūn*; see *Hindon*, above.

Hippenscombe NE of Ludgershall.

1231 *Heppingcumb'* Cl. R.; 1258 *Huppingescumbe* C. Inq.; 1291 *Hippingescumbe* Cl. R.; 1332 *Huppyngescumbe* C. Inq.; 1371 *Ippingescombe* Cal. Inq.; 1411 *Huppingcombe* R. Pat.

Originally **Hippinges cumb*, *Hipping* being the patronymic of *Heppo* (**Heppa*?), recorded in DB [Ellis, Intr. I, p. 433], which Forssner, p. 147, takes to be a Continental-Germanic name. The *e*-vowel in the 1231 form may be due to the influence of the independent *p. n.* The *u* in the first syllable of some forms stand for *y*.

Hodson SSE of Swindon.

1222 *Hodeston* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1312 *Hodeston* Cal. inq. da.; 1314 *Hodeston* Pat. R.; 1482 *Hoddesdon* Cal. Inq.; 1495 *Hodeston* C. Inq.

Originally **Hōdes* (*Hōdan*?) *tūn*. For **Hōd(a)* see under Heddington. The loss of *t* is due to weakened stress; cf. *Rabson*, below, *Benson*, *Chilson*, Oxf. [see Alexander, pp. 51, 75], *Winson*, Glos. [see Baddeley, p. 165].

Holt N of Trowbridge.

1252 *Holt* Ch. R.; 1316 *de Holte* FA.

OE *holt* = 'wood', 'copse'.

Homington SW of Salisbury.

956 †*humming tūn* CS no. 962 [prob. identical]; 1086 *Humitone* DB; 1130 *Humintona* H. Pipe R.; 1167 *Humintoñ* Pipe R.; c. 1194 *Huminton*, *Humiton* Macray; 1199 *Humitoñ* Feet of fines; 1206 *de Humintoñ* R. L. Pat.; 1284 *Homynnton* Pat. R.; c. 1290 *de Hometone* T. Eccl.; Edw. I *in Humeton'* Rot. H; 1316 *Homynnton* FA.

Originally **Huminga tūn*, the patronymic being formed from **Huma*, no doubt a pet-formation of the OE *p. ns* (*)*Humbeald* or *Humbeorht* (< *Hun-* by assimilation of *n* to

b; for this element see Müller, p. 114). The occurrence of *-i-* for *-ing-* is discussed by Zachrisson, *Stud. i mod. språkvet.* V, p. 11.

Hook [*huk*] NNE of Wootton Bassett.

1310 *le Hoke* Cat. A. D.; 1327 *Le Houk* C. Inq.

From OE *hōc*, denoting 'corner', 'nook'¹.

Horningsham SW of Warminster.

1086 *Horningesham*, *Horningham* DB; 1150—60, 1224 *Horningesham* Osmund; 1237 *Hornigesham* Cl. R; 1316 *Horningesham* FA.

Originally **Horninges hām* [or possibly *ham(m)*], *Horning* being a patronymic of the p. n. *Horn*.

Horton NE of Devizes.

1203 *Horton* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1220 *de Hortone* Macray [prob. identical]; 1428 *Horton* FA.

This name probably represents an OE **hor(u)-tūn*; OE **horu*, gen. *horwes*, = 'dirt', 'mud' (not recorded in the nom. as an independent word). (For the vowel in the composition-joint see Bergsten, p. 33 f.) The village has a low situation on one of the head-waters of the East Avon. Cf. *Horton* [*Kirkby*], Kent, which occurs as †*Horatun* (for **Horu-tun*) in CS no. 538.

Huish or **Hewish** [*huif*, *juif*] SW of Marlborough.

1086 *Iwis* DB; Hen. III *Iwys* C. Inq.; 1349 *Hywyssh* Cl. R; 1428 *Huwyssh* FA; 1494 *Hwys* Cat. A. D.

OE *hīwisc*, for which see Harden Huish. For the instability of initial *h* see under Avon.

¹ There is certainly no topographical evidence at the present day to support this meaning, but as the southern border of the ancient Braden forest extended to this region, it may have given rise to the name because of its shape at this point.

Hullavington [locally called 'Hullington'] SW of Malmesbury.

1086 *Hunlavintone* DB; 1170? *Huntlavinton* Osmund; 1194 *Hundlawint* Rot. Cur.; 1202 *Hundlavington* Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1290 *Hundlavinton* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Undelavinton* TN; 1328 *Hunlavintona* Ch. R; 1330—35 *Hullavington* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Hundlavyngton* FA; Queen Elizabeth *Hullavington*, alias *Hullouton* Cat. A. D.

Originally **Hunlāfinga tūn*, *Hunlāf* being a common OE p. n. In ME, assimilation of *n* and *l* has taken place. For the inorganic *d* (*t*) between *n* and *l* cf. Horn § 185. *Hullouton* (Cat. A. D.) seems to be a corrupt rendering of the contracted form.

Hurdcott W of Wilton.

1086 *Hardicote* DB [prob. identical]; 1175 *de Herdicote* Pipe R. [or possibly = Hurdcott NE of Salisbury]; 1269 *Hurdecote* C. Inq.; 1283 *Herdecote* Ch. R; 1288 *Hurdecotte* C. Inq.; 1315 *Herdecote* Ch. R; 1316 *de Herdcote* FA; 1402, 1428 *in Hurdecote* FA.

Either from **heord-cot(e)* or from **heorda cot(e)*; OE *heord* = 'flock', *heorde* (a variant of *hierde*)¹ = 'herdsman'. For ME *u* as a representative of OE *eo* see under Bemerton. The *u* in the mod. form, on the other hand, is, no doubt, of another kind, being due to the levelling of *ur* and *er* in pronunciation. The *a*-vowel in the DB form must be an error, occasioned by the fact that *a* and *e* before *r* often occurred promiscuously in DB, viz. when representing OE *ea* (< *a* before *r* + cons. by breaking).

Hurdcott NE of Salisbury.

1086 *in Herdicote* DB; 1324 *Hurdecote* Pat. R.

See preceding name.

¹ *heorde* (for *hierde*) may naturally be due to the influence of *heord*; but see also Bülbring § 186 Anm.

Hyde N of Swindon.

1495 *Hyde* C. Inq.

OE *hīd*, for which see Fifield.

Idmiston SE of Amesbury.

947 †*at Idemestone* CS no. 829; 970 †*Idemeston(e)* ib. no. 1259 [both probably identical]; c. 1280 *Ydemiston* Osmund; c. 1290 *Idemeston* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Idemistone* FA; 1330 *Idemeston* Ch. R; 1428 *Id(e)meston* FA.

Originally **Idhelmes tūn*. A p. n. **Idhelm* is certainly not on record, but, judging from the present pl. n., its existence seems indisputable. Another OE p. n. with *Id-* as the first member was **Idhild* (fem.) occurring in the local *idhilde stan* CS no. 1114. There also existed a male hypocoristic *Ida*. Contrary to what was apparently the case in OE, the element *Id-* (*It-*) is very common in OGerman p. ns, where it had a great capacity for composition (see Förstemann, Pers.). For its etymology see Forssner, p. 161. In the pl. n. under notice, the loss of *l* must have taken place at the same time as the syncope of the preceding *e*; (the occurrence of this *e* in the ME spellings does not imply its occurrence in the local pronunciation).

Imber on Salisbury Plain.

1086 *Imemerie* DB; 1146 *Immemera* Macray; 1164 *Immeñā* Pipe R; c. 1200 *Ymmer*, *Himmemere* Osmund; 1238 *Ymmere* Macray; c. 1290 *Imere* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Immere* FA; 1324 *Ynmer* ib.; 1330 *Immere* C. Inq.; 1428 *I(n)mere* FA.

Originally **Imman mære* [OE *mære*, *gemære* = boundary, landmark]. The first element contains the male OE p. n. *Imma*, for which see Forssner, p. 69. For the insertion of *b* see Horn § 158. The termination in the DB form must be an error due to the influence of the common *-berie*.

Ingelburne [*ingelbørn*] adjoining Malmesbury.

[late 7th cent.] †*Ingelbourne(-castel)* Eulogium; 956 †*Ingelbourne (aqua)*, (*Yngleburne*) CS no. 921; [n. d.] (*ad aquam de*) *Ingellbourne* Reg. Malm.

This name denoted originally the more northerly of the two head-waters of the Lower Avon, which rises near Tetbury [see Akerman's map in Archæol. XXXVII]. The first element is difficult to identify. If it was a p. n., this was probably the native OE *Inzeld*, for which see Müller, pp. 100, 126. The Continental *Ingel-* (see Forssner, p. 70 f.) can, on the other hand, not possibly come into consideration here because of the early date at which the name occurs. The original form may consequently have been **Inzeldes burn(a) [burne]*. In its position between *l* and *b*, the old gen. *s* was not likely to be retained very long. Cf. Inglesham, below.

Inglesham [*ingəls(h)əm*] N of Highworth.

1177 *Ynglesham* Pipe R; 1202 *Inglesham* R. L. Pat.; 1225 *Englesham* Pat. R; 1240 *Inglesham*, *Inglisham* Macray; 1262, 1273, 1282 *Inglesham* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Ingelsĥm* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Inglesham* FA; 1542 *Englesham* Cat. A. D.

From **Inzeldes* (or possibly **Ingelan*) *hām*, **Ingela* being a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with *Ingel-* (see Forssner, p. 70 f.). For *Inzeld* see preceding name.

Ivychurch SE of Salisbury.

1109—20 *Monasterium Hederosum* Osmund; 1155—60 *de Monasterio Oderoso* [mistake for *Ederoso*] ib.; 1214 *Monasterii Hederosi* (gen.) Macray; 1242 *Ivichurch*, *Ivechirch* Pat. R; 1246 *Ivychurch* Ch. R; 1249 *Ivychurch* C. Inq.; 1492 *Ive Church*, *Ivy-church* ib.

The meaning is obvious.

Keevil E of Trowbridge.

1086 *Chivele* DB; 1205 *Kivelia* Rot. Ch.; c. 1210 *de Chivele* Macray; 1217 *de Kivele* Pat. R; 1239 *Kyvelegh* Cl. R; 1272

Cufty C. Inq.; 1275 *Cyvel* Pat. R; 1283 *of Kivele, Kyveleygh* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Kyvele* FA; 1318 *of Keyvele* Pat. R; 1326 *Cuvele* C. Inq.; 1337 *Kyveleye* Phillipps' fines; 1362 *Keivele* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *de Kyvele* FA; 1556 *Kevill* Br. Mus.

This name can hardly be Germanic. The terminations *-leggh*, *-leye*, *-ly* in some of the ME forms are certainly only orthographic, for there seem to be no cases of OE *-lēah* (*-lēaze*) in pl. ns having been weakened simply to *l* in the mod. form.

Kellaways NE of Chippenham.

1226 *Cailleway* Phillipps' ped. fin.; (n. d.) *de Kayleweye* Reg. Malm.

This is certainly a Celtic name; see *Call(a)way*, *Calloway*, Bardsley.

Kennett, **East** and **West** on the r. Kennet. W of Marlborough.

939 *on cynetan*, (*juxta Ripam*) *Kinete* CS no. 734; 944 *on Cynetan* ib. no. 802; 956 *on Cynetan* ib. no. 942; 972 *Cynetan* ib. no. 1285; 984 *Cynete*, *on Cynetan* CD no. 1282; [1006] *æt Cynetan* AS Chr. [E], *æt Cynestan* [D]; 1050 *Cynete*, *on Cynetan* CD no. 792; 1086 (*in*) *Chenete* (three times) DB; 1214 *in Kenet* Rot. Ch.; c. 1290 *de Kenete* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Eskenet* Cl. R; Edw. III *Kynete*, *de Estkenete* NI; 1380 *Eskenet* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Est Kenete* FA.

All the forms previous to Domesday refer to the River Kennet (the forms from CS nos. 802, 942, CD nos. 792, 1282, and that of the AS Chr. having reference to the Berks. part of the river). *Kennet(t)* is a pre-Germanic name, certainly identical with **Cunetio* (*Cunetione*), mentioned in Antoninus' Itinerary, which place has been located in the vicinity of Marlborough. *Kintbury*, Berks., takes its name from the same river. Note also *Kennet*, Cambs., and *Kentford*, Suffolk, for which see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs.,

p. 71, and Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 33. *Kennet* occurs also in Scotch pl. ns.

Kingston Deverill NE of Mere.

1086 *Devrel* DB¹; 1205 in *Kingesdeverell* R. L. Cl.; 1240 *Wrelquinsten* Ch. R (corrupt); c. 1290 *de Kyngestone* T. Eccl.; 1318 *Kyngeston Deverel* C. Inq.; 1428 *Kyngeston* FA.

Kingston answers to OE **cyninges tūn*. For *Deverill* see Brixton D.

Kingston Langley N of Chippenham.

1086 *Langhelei* DB [prob. identical].

Originally **æt þāem (þære) langan lēaze*. The distinctive name refers to the adjoining Kingston St. Michael.

Kingston St. Michael NNW of Chippenham.

1174—91 *Chinctuna* Br. Mus.; 1242 *Kington* Ch. R; 1280 *Kyngton*, *Kingtone* ib.; c. 1290 *Kington Mich'is* T. Eccl.; Edw. I in *Kynton' Mich'is* Plac. Warr.; 1320 *Munchene-kyngton* Cl. R; 1428 *Kyngton (Michaelis)* FA.

The complete absence of any trace of a gen. -s in the present name indicates an original **cyne-tūn* rather than **cyninges tūn*; OE *cyne* (= royal) being an element only used in compounds. Cf. Kingston, West, below. *Munchene-* in the Cl. R. form (< OE *mynecenu* = 'a nun') refers to an ancient Benedictine nunnery here (see Heath, p. 172). Cf. *Monken-deverel* (= Monkton Deverill) *Monken Farlegh* (= Monkton Farleigh), below, and also *Minchen lane*, *M. meadow* etc., quoted in NED (under 'minchen').

'St. Michael' refers to the church.

Note. Birch's identification of †*Kingtone* CS no. 704 with this place seems to be a mere conjecture, for nothing indicates even that it was situated in Wilts.

¹ See the foot-note under Brixton D.

Kington, West NW of Corsham.

1086 *Chintone* DB [or possibly = Kington St. Michael]; 1175 *Chingtona* Macray; 1233 *in Westkington* R. fin. exc.; 1235 1240 *Westkinton* Ch. R.; 1243 *West Kyngton* C. Inq.; Edw. I *de Wes(t)kinton* Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *Westkinton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *West Kyn(g)ton* FA; 1317 *Westkynton* Pat. R; 1322 *Westkynkton* C. Inq.; 1324 *Kynton* FA; 1468 *Westkynnington* Cal. Inq.

In all probability from **cyne-tūn*; see Kington St. Michael.

Knighton near Broad Chalk.

1200 *Knichteton* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 13th cent. *Knyghtteton* Cat. A. D.; 1314 *Knyghteton* C. Inq.; 1418 *Knyghteston* Cat. A. D.; 1428 *Knyghteton* FA.

This name corresponds to an OE **cneohta* [*cni(e)hta*] *tūn*.

Knook [nuk] near Heytesbury.

1086 *Cunuche* (twice) DB; 1226 *Cnuch* Osmund; 1249 *Knuch* Br. Mus.; Hen. III *Knuk* C. Inq.; 1314 *Cnouk* ib.; 1316 *Knouk* FA; 1327 *Knouke* C. Inq.; 1402 *Knowke* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Knoke* FA.

This name is of Celtic origin; see Conock. The lengthened vowel is certainly due to the analogy of *hook*, *nook*.

Knoyle, East or Bishop's Knoyle SW of Hindon.

„ **West or Little Knoyle W of Hindon.**

948, 956 *Cnugel* CS nos. 870, 956 [possibly identical]; 984 *cnugel* CD no. 641 (prob. ident.); 1086 *Chenvel* (twice) DB (corrupt); 1227 *Stepelknoel* Cl. R [= Knoyle, East]; 1284 *Knoel* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Cnoel Magna* [= K., East], *Cnoel hodieerne* [= K., West] T. Eccl.; 1299 *Cnowell* Cal. Inq.; 1316 *Knowell* FA; 1331 *Knouwell Magna* Pat. R; 1402 *Cnoel Episcopi* ib.; 1428 *Knoyel*, *Cnoel Magna*, *Knoel Parva*, *Cnoel Hodiern* (*Hodyerne*) ib.; 1458 *Knoyll Episcopi* Cal. Inq.; 1491 *Est Knoell* C. Inq.; 1493 *in Weste Knoyle* ib.

This is undoubtedly a pre-English name, and therefore its explanation must be left to Celtic scholars. One may mention, however, that the *g* in *Cnugel* (CS and CD), if the identification is correct, must have represented a palatal fricative [*Cnugel* consequently stands **Cnui(z)el*]; cf. the Celtic p. n. *Boia* (*Boiga*), which also occurs as *Boga* (see Forssner, p. 51). The form *Knowell* must be merely orthographic, probably due to the fact that the scribe was unfamiliar with the non-Germanic combination *oi* (*oy*). Association with the subst. *well* may perhaps also have aided in causing the spelling in question.

For the distinctive names see Jones, p. 205.

Lackham S of Chippenham.

1086 *Lacham* DB; 1252 *Lacham* Br. Mus.; Edw. I *Lackam* ib.; 1300 *Lakham* Ch. R; 1430 *Lackham* Br. Mus.

Originally **lac(u)-hām*¹; OE *lacu* f. = 'small stream', here referring to the little affluent of the Lower Avon at this place. As a dialectal word *lake* is still used in the sense of 'brook', 'stream' in several of the southern counties.

Lacock or **Laycock** [both pronounced *leikök*] S of Chippenham.

845 (†)*Lacok* CS no. 470; 1086 *Lacoch*, *Lacoc* DB; 1166 *Lachocha* (latinized) Pipe R; 1167 *Lachoca* ib.; c. 1210 *Lacoq* Br. Mus.; 1230 *Lacok* Osmund; 1239 *Lacoc* Macray; c. 1250? *Lackoc* ib.; 1260 *Lacock* Ch. R; 1316 *de Lacocke* FA.

This name is obviously quite the same as *Laycock*, Yorks., which, according to Goodall, consists of OE *lacu* + the diminutive suffix *oc* (*uc*) [consequently OE **lacoc*], and there seems indeed to be no objection to this statement. Cf. *hillock*, which is a quite analogous formation. The present village is situated on a little tributary of the Lower Avon near the point where it joins this river.

For *ay* in the modern form cf. *Braydon*, above.

¹ For the vowel in the composition-joint see Bergsten, p. 34.

Lake SW of Amesbury.

1324 *Lake* Pat. R.

This name refers to the East Avon, on the upper portion of which the place is situated.

Landford ESE of Downton.

1086 *Langeford* DB 74 b, ib. 72 a?; Hen. III *Laneford* Rot. H; c. 1290 *Laneford*, *Langeford* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Laneford* FA; 1327 *Laneford* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Laneford* FA.

Originally **se langa ford*. On account of the AN rendering of *ng* by *n*, the sense of the first element must have been forgotten, and it was later confused with *land*, which has persisted in the mod. name. It is interesting to notice *Langford*, Notts., which has developed in quite the opposite way (from *land*- > *lang*-); see Mutschmann, p. 80.

Note. Stevenson's suggestion, p. 319 f., that *Leonaforde* mentioned in Asser's Life of King Alfred, may be identical with Landford, Wilts. is obviously quite impossible for philological reasons.

Langford, Little NW of Wilton.

c. 1290 *Langeforde* *þva* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Parva Langeford* FA.

See Steeple Langford. The OE forms quoted under that name refer also to Langford, Little (as well as to Hanging Langford). One of the *Langefords* in DB probably also refers to this place, according to Jones the one mentioned on fol. 68 a.

Langley Burrell Within in the mun. bor. of Chippenham.

” ” **Without** adjoining the above.

940 †*ad Langelegh*', †*de Langeleythe* (corrupt) CS no. 751 [possibly identical]; 1086 *Langefel* DB [prob. identical]; c. 1290 *de Longaleye* T. Eccl. [or possibly ident. with Kington Langley]; 1258 *Langele* C. Inq.; 1316 *Langele* FA; 1333 *Langle Burel* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Langeley*, *Langle* FA.

Originally *æt þām (þære) *langan lēaze*. The termination in the DB form represents the OE synonymous *feld* (for the loss of *d* see Stolze § 37; cf. Winkfield, below).

For the family name 'Burrell' (Borel) see Hildebrand, p. 331, and Bardsley. According to Jones, p. 221, the 'Burrells' held the manor from the time of Domesday till the early 14th cent.

Latton NNW of Cricklade.

1086 *Latone* DB; 1241 *in Latton* R. fin. exc.; Edw. I *in Lacton*' (three times) Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *de Lattone* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Latton* FA.

Probably from OE *lac(u)-tūn, *lacu* referring to 'the Churn', one of the head-waters of the Thames, which flows here by the side of the Thames and Severn Canal. Assimilation of *k* to *t* has consequently taken place.

Laverstock [lævə(r)stōk] near Salisbury.

1086 *Lavertestoche*, *Lavvrecestohes* [corrupt] DB; 1221 *Laverkestok* Pat. R; 1227 *de Laverstoke* Macray; 1249 *Laver(e)-kestok* C. Inq.; 1303 *Larkestok* Cal. Inq.; 1311 *in Lawerke-stoke* Rot. Orig.; 1316 *de Laverstoke* FA; 1320 *Lavirkestok* Rot. Orig.; 1349 *Laverestoke*; 1402 *in Larkestoke* FA; 1428 *in Laverkestoke* ib.; 1492 *Laverstok*, at *Laverstokke* C. Inq.

Originally *lāferc(e)-stoc [lāwerc(e)-stoc]. The first element, which also occurs in a few other names [e. g. †(in) *lauwerkeboerge* CS no. 125, †(on) *laweorc dune* ib. no. 870, †(to) *laurocan beorge* ib. 1005, *lauercan beorh* ib. no. 1238, (*uppan*) †*lauerces byrig* CD 1129] most probably represents the bird ('the lark')¹. The first of the DB forms is another example of orthographic confusion between *c* and *t*. For the termination see *Baverstock*.

¹ The possibility that it was a p. n. is very slight; in that case it would probably have been of Scand. provenience (like *Raf(e)n*, *Sualeua*), but ONorse *lævirkí* is not recorded as a p. n.

Note. *Læfer* CS no. 879 is stated by Birch to be the name of the river on which Laverstock is situated. This localization seems, however, to be erroneous. The stream that flows past Laverstock is 'the Boule', in OE times called *Winter-burn(a)*; see *Winterbourne* (Dauntsey), below.

Lavington, Market or East L. S of Devizes.

1086 *Laventone* DB; 1254 *Stepellavinton* Pat. R; 1257 *Stepellavinthon* C. Inq.; 1271 *Stupellaunton* ib.; 1276 *Stupelavinton* ib.; c. 1290 *de Stupellavyngtone* T. Eccl.; 1301 *Laurenton* Br. Mus.; 1316 *Stapul Lavynton* FA; 1318 *Stepel Lavynton* Ch. R; 1324 *Stupellavynton* FA; 1402 *Lavyngton, Stepillav(in-ton)* ib.; 1428 *Stupel Lavyngton* ib.; 1496 *Est Lavyngton* C. Inq.

From **Lafinga* (or **Lafan*) *tūn*, *Lafa* being a p. n. recorded in LVD [see Müller, p. 57]. Of the distinctive *Stepel* (*Stupel*) and *Stapul*, the former is probably the correct form (referring to the church steeple). A confusion of this kind may have easily taken place, particularly as both elements are frequent in pl. ns. Cf. Stapleford, Steeple Ashton, S. Langford, below, and Steeple Aston, Oxfs. [see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.]. In the present case, the substitution of *stapul* for *stepel* may of course be due to the fact that the place was formerly a market town; [see Camden, p. 108].

Note. Alexander's explanation of *stepel*, *steeple* (in connection with his discussion of Steeple Aston, Pl. Ns of Oxfs., p. 195) from the Mercian *steapul* [with u-umlaut] is a strange mistake.

Lavington, West or Bishop's L. SW of Lav. E.

1086 *Laventone* DB; 1091 *Lavinton* Osmund; c. 1136 *Lavintona* Macray; 1140—42 *Lavinton* Osmund; 1195 *in Lavinton* Feet of fines; 1232 *in Lavinton' Episcopi* Cl. R; 1238 *de Lavinctune* Macray; 1294 *Lavynton* Ch. R; 1316 *Lavynton* FA.

See preceding name. *c* for *g* in *Lavinctune* is a AN spelling [see Hildebrand, p. 360, § 18]. The distinctive name refers to its former tenant, the Bishop of Sarum.

Lea SE of Malmesbury.

c. 1290 *Legh* T. Eccl. [or = Leigh Delamere]; 1346 *la Lee* Rot. Orig.

OE *lēa(h)* (= 'meadow').

Leigh near Westbury.

1316 *de Lye* FA; 1318 *in Leye* Ch. R; 1330 *Lye* C. Inq.; 1340 *La Lee* Ch. R.

The modern form is developed from the OE nom. *lēah*, *Lye*, *Leye* from the dat. *lēaze*.

Leigh Delamere NW of Chippenham.

1428 *Lygh*, *Legh* FA; 1488 *Ligh* C. Inq.

See above. 'Delamere' is an AN family name; cf. Fisherton Delamere.

Liddington SE of Swindon.

1086 *Ledentone* DB; 1204 *de Lidintoñ* R. Oblat.; c. 1290 *Ludinton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Ludynton* FA; 1428 *Ludyngton* FA.

Probably from **Lydinga tūn*, the first element being a patronymic of the OE p. n. *Lud(d)a*; cf. Luddington, Warws. [see Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws.], Luddenden, Yorks. [see Goodall], and Ludwell, below. For *e* as a representative of OE *y* in DB see Stolze § 15.

Littlecott NE of Hilmarton.

1086 *Littlecote* DB; 1232 *Littlecot* Ch. R; 1316 *de Littlecote* FA; Edw. III *de Littellecote* NI.

**seo lytle cote* or **þæt lytle cot*.

Littlecott near Enford.

1300 *Littlecote* Cal. Inq.; [n. d.] *de Lyttlekote* Cat. A. D. See above.

Littlecott NW of Hungerford (Berks.).

1428 *in Lytelcote* FA. See above.

Littleton Drew or St. Andrew Littleton W of Grittleton.

1065 *Litletun* CD no. 817 [possibly identical]; 1086 *Litel-tone* DB 66 b; c. 1290 *Littleton* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Littelton* TN; 1316 *Littleton Drewe* FA; 1324 *Littelton Drew* ib.; 1351 *Lutlyngton Dru* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Lyttelton Drew* FA.

**se lytla tūn*. The *ing*-suffix in one of the ME forms is due to analogy with pl. ns containing a patronymic as the first element; cf. Sherrington, below. For the AN 'Drew' (possibly referring to Walterus Drew, TN 142, 158) see Forssner, p. 60 f. 'St. Andrew' refers to the church.

Note. There seems no reason to locate *Lyttelton* CD no. 654 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index.

Littleton Pannell S of Potterne.

1086 *Litelton* DB 71 d [prob. identical]; 1239 *de Litlinton* Macray; 1316 *Lutleton Paynel* C. Inq.; 1318 *Lyttelton* ib.; 1324 *Lyttelton Paynel* ib.

See preceding name. 'Paynel' (Pannell) is an AN family name; see Bardsley.

Littleton NE of Trowbridge.

1470 *Litilton* Br. Mus.; see above.

Lockeridge WSW of Marlborough.

1086 *Locherige* DB; Edw. I *Lokerrigge* Rot. H; 1316 *de Lokerugge* FA.

The termination is obviously OE *hrycz* = 'ridge (of a down)'. The first element may have contained a (hypocoristic?) p. n. **Luca*, found in the local *lucan beorh* CS no. 1066, probably also identical with the first member of *Luceman* (on a coin of the time of Æthelbeorht), *Lucumon* (AS Chr.). A Continental *Luca* is also quoted in Searle; cf. Luckington, below.

Longbridge Deverill S of Warminster.

1086 *Devrel* DB¹; 1253 *in Longo Ponte Deverell* Pat. R; Hen. III *Deverel Lungpunt* Rot. H; 1267 *Deverel Lungepunt* Pat. R; 1316 *Dever(ill) Langebrigge* FA; 1330 *Deverellangebrigge* Ch. R; c. 1333 *Deuerel Langebrigg* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Deverell Longepond* FA.

For *Deverill* see Brixton D. Whether 'Longbridge' goes as far back as the OE period, it is impossible to say.

Longford SE of Salisbury.

956 *æt Langanforda* CS no. 934 [possibly identical]; 1086 *Langeford* DB 74 b; 1290 *Langeford* Ch. R; Edw. I *Langeford* Br. Mus.; 1316 *Langeford* FA; 1485 *Langford (Cervyngton)* C. Inq.

For the distinctive 'Cervyngton' see Heath, p. 188.

Longleat WSW of Warminster.

1235 *la Langelete* Macray; 1240—50 *Longaleta* ib.; 1265—70 *Longaleta* ib.; late 13th cent. *La Langhelete* Br. Mus.; 1315 *Langelete* C. Inq.; 1333 *Longleat* ib.

This name refers to the long sub-affluent of the r. Frome which flows down here from the neighbourhood of Horningham. *leat* corresponds to OE *ȝelǣt(e)* n., which, besides the present meaning, has also the sense of 'junction' (e. g. *weȝa ȝelǣte*). Whether 'Longleat' originated as far back as OE times, it is of course impossible to say.

Luckington NW of Grittleton.

1086 *Lochintone* (twice) DB; 1194 *Luchinton* Rot. Cur.; 1199 *de Lokinton* ib.; 1217 *Lokintun* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Lokinton* T. Eccl.; Edw. I *in Lokinton* Plac. Warr.; 1316 *de Lokyntone* FA; 1382 *Luckington* Br. Mus.; 1458 *Lokyngton* ib.

Probably from **Lucinga tūn*, the first element being a patronymic of **Luca*, for which see under Lockeridge.

¹ See the foot-note under Brixton D.

Ludgershall [lagəʃəl] NE of Amesbury.

1086 *Litlegarsele* DB [obviously corrupt]; 1203 *de Lote-gareshal* R. L. Pat.; 1215 *Lutegareshal* ib.; 1227, 1233 *Lutegareshal* Ch. R.; 1233 *de Luttegarishal* Cl. R.; 1251 *Ludgershall* Ch. R.; 1261 *of Luttegershale* Pat. R.; 1264 *of Lote-gershale* ib.; 1268 *Lotegarsal*, *apud Lutegereshalam* Ch. R.; 1271 *Lotegareshal* ib.; 1292 *Ludgershall* ib.; 1316 *de Lutegarshale* FA; 1334 *de Luggershale* Rot. Orig.; 1336 *Lutgareshall* R. Pat.; 1428 (*de*) *Ludegarsale* FA; 1528 *of Lurgarsale* Cat. A. D.; 1572 *Lurgassill* Br. Mus.

It is obvious that the first element is made up of a p. n., which is the same one as occurs in the local †*ludegarstone* CD no. 654, (†)*Lutegareshale* ib. no. 722 (*Lutegareshale*, Thorpe)¹, and also in *Ludgershall*, Bucks. and Glos., and *Lurgershall*, Sussex (the ME forms of the last three pl. ns being exactly analogous to those of the Wilts. name). It is, however, quite impossible for me to identify this p. n. in any way, for no similar compound is on record either in England or on the Continent. All that seems clear is that its second member is the common (OE) p. n. element *gār*. The explanation of this name must therefore be left to some authority on p. ns.

hall in pl. ns may go back either to OE *heall* (*hall*) = 'palace', 'residence', or to *healh* (*halh*), dat. *heale*, which has been thought to denote 'nook', 'corner', 'secret place'; see 'hale' NED, and Wyld, p. 340 f.

The *r* in the first syllable of the Cat. A. D. and Br. Mus. forms is certainly not a spelling mistake, for we may note the same change in the mod. *Lurgershall* (*Lurgashall*), Sussex [see Roberts, p. 105]. This substitution is, no doubt, due to sound-physiological causes (on account of the difficulty of pronouncing two explosives in succession).

¹ There seems, however, no reason to identify this place with Ludgershall, Wilts., as is suggested in the indexes of CD and Thorpe.

Ludwell E of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1195 in *Ludewell* Feet of fines; 1216 *Ludewell* Rot. Ch.;
1252 *Ludewell* Ch. R.

Originally **Ludan wiell(e)* [*wyll(e)*]. For the p. n. *Luda* see Liddington, above. Cf. Ludwell, Oxf. (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxf.).

Lushill NW of Highworth.

1268 *Lustreshull* Pat. R; 1276 *Lusteshull* Ch. R; 1324 *Lusteshull* Pat. R; 1329 *Lusteshulle* C. Inq.; 1428 *Lusteshull* FA; [n. d.] *de Lustreshulle, de Lustrushulle* Cat. A. D.

Probably from **Lustan hyll* (with a later insertion of the strong gen. ending), **Lusta* being a pet-form of some name beginning with *Lust-*, of which *Lustwine* is on record. The forms with *r* inserted are certainly errors, due to the influence of OFrench words in *lustr-* (e. g. *lustreux*).

Lydiard Millicent }
Lydiard Tregoze } NE of Wootton Bassett.

900 †*Lidgeard*, †*Lidegeward*, †*Lidgerd* CS no. 590 [possibly identical]; 901—24 †*Lidgeard* ib. no. 591 [poss. ident.]; 1086 *Lidiarde* (= L. M.), *Lediar* (= L. T.) DB; 1228 *Lydierd* Ch. R; 1283 *Northlideyerd* (= L. M.) Pat. R; 1285 *Lidiard*, *Lydeyerd* Ch. R; Edw. I in *Lydeyard*' Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *Lydyerd Milsent*, *L. Tregos* T. Eccl.; 1307 *Lydyherd* C. Inq.; 1315 *Lidiard* ib.; 1316 *Ledyerd*, *Lydyerd* FA; 1324 *Lydeard Tregoze* ib.; 1327 *Lydeyerd Tregoze* C. Inq.; 1349 *Suth Ledyerd* (= L. T.), *North Lidyerd* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Lydyard*, *Lydeyerd Milsent*, *L. Tregos* FA; [n. d.] *de Ledeyarde* Reg. Malm.

The termination is obviously OE *Ʒeard* (= enclosed place). The etymology of the first element is not clear. The best suggestion that I can offer is that the element may have contained an unrecorded p. n. **Lyda*, formed from **Lyding* (the patronymic of *Luda*; see Liddington, above). Cf. *Tud(d)a* : **Tyd(d)a* under Tedworth.

For the *e* instead of *i* in the first syllable of some forms above see under Biddestone. On the AN distinctive names see Jones, p. 222 f.

Note. Searle's assumption of a p. n. **Lida*, on the ground of the local *Lidanege* CS no. 1282, p. 585, is probably a mistake, as the first element of the name in question seems to refer to the River Leddon, Worcs.; nor does his inference of a p. n. **Lidgeard* from *lidgeardes beorge* CS no. 1125 seem authenticated, for *Lidgeard* may just as well represent a pl. n.

Lidigerd(e) CD no. 897 was obviously in Soms., prob. = Lydeard St. Lawrence, (not in Wilts., as is stated by Kemble).

Lyneham [*lain(h)əm*] SW of Wootton Bassett.

1285 *Linhām* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Lynhām* T. Eccl.; 1316, 1428 *Lynham* FA; 1596 *Lyneham* Br. Mus.

OE **līn-hām*; OE *līn* (= flax) is not uncommon in pl. ns.

Note. *Lineham*, Oxf., is evidently of the same origin, but Alexander's suggestion that the modern diphthongized vowel of the first element indicates a derivation from the dat. case [consequently **æt līne-ham(m)e*] is impossible, as the preposition could only have affected the second element. The retention of the long vowel is simply due to the influence of the independent subst. *line* (now chiefly a dialectal word).

Maddington WNW of Amesbury.

1277 *Madinton* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *de Madyngtone* T. Eccl.; 1294 *Wynterburn Maidyn-ton* (corrupt) Cal. Inq.; 1316 *Madynton* FA; 1428 *Madyngton* FA; 1485, 1493 *Wynterborne Madyngton* C. Inq.

Probably from **Madinga tūn*, the first element being a patronymic of a (hypocoristic?) p. n. **Mada*, recorded in the local †*Madanlieg* (CS no. 1312, which is identified by Birch with Madeley, Staffs.). The name evidently occurs also in *Madingley*, Cambs. [see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Cambs. p. 67].

The distinctive name refers to the stream on which the place is situated; see Winterbourne Stoke, below.

Maiden Bradley N of Mere.

1086 *Bradellie* DB; 1178? *Deuerell Puellarum* Br. Mus.; c. 1210 *Bradele* Macray; 1228 *Bradeleg* Ch. R; *Bradleigh*

Leprosi Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1267 *Meydenebradele* Ch. R.; 1270 *Braddeleg* Ch. R.; 1271 *Maiden Bradley* R. Pat.; 1280 *Maydenebradeleg* C. Inq.; 1281 *Deverill* Br. Mus.; c. 1290 *Bradele Abbis* T. Eccl.; 1328 *Maydenbradleg* Ch. R.; 1428 *Bradeley (Abbatis)* FA; 1492 *Mayden Bradleg* C. Inq.

Originally *æt þām (þære) brādan lēaze. For the distinctive names see Camden, p. 110, and Jones, p. 199. The place is situated at the source of the Deverill-stream, which accounts for the Br. Mus. forms above.

Note. *to bradan leage* CD no. 133 and †*Bradelege* ib. no. 460 are erroneously stated by Kemble to be identical with Maiden Bradley. The former of these places was obviously situated in east Wilts. near Bedwyn, and the latter in the north-west, near Brokenborough. There seems also no reason for assuming with Birch and Kemble that †*Bradanolæh* CS no. 153 (CD no. 79) was situated here.

Malmesbury.

675 †*Maldumesburg* (†*Mealdumesburg*) CS no. 37; 681 †*Meldulfesbirg* (†*Meldunesburg*) ib. no. 58; 683 †*Maldumesburg* (†*Mældubesburg*) ib. no. 65; 701 †*Meldumesburg* (†*Maldunensburg*, †*Mældumesburgg*) ib. no. 103; †*Meldumesburg*, *Meldum* ib. no. 105; *Maldumes buruh*, æt *Mealdumesbyrig*, *Meldum* ib. no. 106; 705 †*Maldubesburg* ib. no. 114; [n. d.] *Maildulfī urbs* Bede; 745 *Maldunense monasterium* CS no. 170; 758 *in Maldubiensi (Maildubiensi) monasterio* ib. no. 185; 854 †*Malmesburg* (†*Meldubesburg*) ib. no. 470; Alfred †*Malduberi*, †*Mældunesburg*, †*Mælduburi* ib. no. 568; †*Mailduberi*, †*Maldumesburg*, *Maildubiensis [æcclesiæ]* (gen.) ib. no. 569; Æthelstan *Meldulfuensis burgi* (gen.) ib. no. 720; 937 *Meldunensi [ecclesiæ]* (dat.) ib. no. 718; 965—971 *to Mealdælmæs byrig* ib. no. 1174; 974 †*Malmesburgh* ib. no. 1300; [1015] *binnon Mealdelmes byrig* AS Chr. [E], *Ealdelmes byrig* ib. [C and D]; 1086 *Malmesberie*, *Mamesberie* DB; c. 1125 *Meldunum* (corrupt) W. Malm.; 1131 *Malmesberia* (gen.) Macray; 1199 *Maumesbiŕ* R. Oblat.; 1200 *Malmesbiŕ* Rot. Ch.; 1206 *Malmesbiŕ* R. L. Pat.; 1215 *Maumesbiŕ* ib.; 1220—25

de Mamesbirie Osmund; 1252 *Maumesbiri* Ch. R; 1254 *Malmysbure* Macray; 1280 *Malmesbury* Ch. R.

This name has been discussed by Miller, Pl. Ns in the Engl. Bede, p. 79 f. The place is, he says, associated 1) with *Maildu(l)f*, the Scotch founder of the monastery [see Eulogium Cap. XCII], 2) with *Meldum* as founder [see CS no. 105], 3) with *Aldhelm*, the well-known Malmesbury abbot (died in 709). As far as the first and third suggestions are concerned, there is no objection, but in the case of the second one, there is considerable doubt about the existence of anyone called *Meldum*, in spite of the statement in CS no. 105: *monasterium . . . quod Meldum religiosæ memoriæ condidit, quod etiam nunc Meldumesburg vocatur . . .* This name is most probably a mere construction from *Meldumesburg*. *Malmesbury* is consequently in all probability made up of two p. ns only: *Maildu(l)f* and *Aldhelm* (*Ealdhelm*), which have been hopelessly confused with each other in this pl. n. The independent *Meldum* is, no doubt, a formation quite analogous to *Sarum* (see below), viz. a latinization, formed from the first syllable of the pl. n. by means of the Latin ending *-um*. For the loss of *u* (< *l*) in *Mamesberie*, *Mamesbirie* see Zachrisson, p. 150.

Manningford Abbots

”	Bohun	}	SW of Pewsey.
”	Bruce		
”			

987 *Maningaforda*, †*Manyngforde* L. de Hyda; 1086 *Maneforde* (= M. A.), *Maniford* (twice) [= M. Bohun and Bruce] DB; 1142—80 *Mangesford* Br. Mus.; c. 1200 *Manegesford* Osmund; 1218 *Maningeford* Macray; c. 1243 *Maniggeford* ib.; c. 1290 *Manningeford Abbas* T. Eccl.; Edw. I *Maningford* Plac. Warr., *Maningford Parva* [= M. A.] Rot. H; 1296 *Manyngfeld Brewose* Pat. R; 1311 *Manyngeford* (*Brewose*), *Manyngfeld* C. Inq.; 1316 *Maningford Abbatis*, *M. Boun*, *M. Brewose* FA; 1324 *Manyngeford Brewes* ib.; 1325 *Manyngford*

Brewes C. Inq.; 1428 *Manyngford Abbatis*, *Manyngford Sancti Petri* (= M. Bruce) FA.

The first of the forms quoted from L. de Hyda obviously represents the original name. *Man(n)ing* is a patronymic of the OE p. n. *Man(n)* or *Man(n)a*. Manningford Abbots was a former estate of the abbey of St. Peter, Winchester (see DB), whence its distinctive name. 'Bohun' (occurring as 'Bohum' in DB, see Hildebrand, p. 345) and 'Brewose' are AN family names. 'Bruce' in the present case is only a corruption of 'Brewose'.

Manton near Marlborough.

1086 *Manetune* DB; 1258 *Manton* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Maniton'* Rot. H; 1428 *Manton* FA.

Probably from **Man(n)an tūn*; for *Man(n)a* see preceding name.

Note. Birch's identification of *Meh(h)andun* CS nos. 584, 585 with this place is obviously quite impossible.

Marden or Merton SE of Devizes.

940 †*on mærdenum* CS no. 748; 963 †*merh dæne* ib. no. 1118; 1086 *Meresdene* DB; 1167 *Mergdena* Pipe R; 1170 *Mercedena* ib.; 1172 *Meredena* ib.; 1185 *de Meredon'* ib.; 1204 *in Marden* R. Oblat.; 1205 *Mereden* R. L. Cl.; 1233 *Mereden* R. fin. exc.; 1261 *Mereden* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Merghdene* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Meredene* FA; 1321 *Merden* Cl. R; 1322 *Merwheden* (twice) Pat. R; Edw. III *Merghedene* NI; 1428 *Mereden*, *de Merghdene* FA.

From the situation of this village it is evident that the original termination was OE *dene* (*denu*) = 'valley'. The first element obviously contained the subst. *mearh* (= horse). The old forms quoted above indicate, however, two variants of the original name: **mearh-dene* (*denu*) and **meara dene* (*denu*) [*meara* gen. plur.]. It is true that both these forms would have given by regular development *a* instead of *e* in the first syllable even in the early ME forms. The *e*-spellings are,

however, easily explained as due to the influence of the many pl. ns containing ME *Mere-* (< OE *mære* or *mere*) as the first element. The *s* of the DB form may be accounted for in two ways: if *Meresdene* represents an OE **mearh-dene*, the *s* is an AN rendering of the fricative *χ* (see under Brigmerston); if, on the other hand, it corresponds to **meara dene*, the *s* has been inserted through analogy with pl. ns, the first element of which has a gen. *s*.

Another pl. n. containing OE *mearh* is (on) *mearh forda* CS no. 931.

Note. From what has been said above it is evident that Plummer's suggestion that *Mere tune* [Ä], *Mære dune* [E]. AS Chr. A. D. 871 are identical with this place must be wrong, as the former of these forms (belonging to the Parker ms) has the strongest claims to be genuine. Kemble's identification of †*Meardæno* (*latex*) CD no. 103 with Marden, Wilts., is also an obvious mistake. *Meardæno* is on the other hand to be located in the vicinity of Malmesbury.

Marlborough [*maa(r)lbərə*, *məlbərə*].

1086 *in Merleberge* DB; 1091 *Marleberg* Osmund; [1110] *æt Mærle beorge* AS Chr. [E]; 1147 *Melleburga* Cal. France; c. 1148 *Merleberga* Osmund; 1158 *Merleberg* ib.; 1176? *Melleberga* Cal. France; 1226 *Merleburge* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1229, 1246 *Marlborough* Ch. R; 1258 *Marleberg* C. Inq.; 1280 *Marleborgh* ib.; 1308 *of Merleberge* ib.; 1320 *de Marleberewe* Cl. R; 1361 *de Merleborowe* Cal. Inq.; 1390 *Marlebergh* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Marleburg*.

The first element seems to be the same as in *Marlesford*, Suffolk, which Skeat (Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 34) takes to be a p. n. In that case it is certainly connected with the obscure first member of the Scand. *Mærleswegen* (*Mærlasswegen*) [see Björkman, Pers. I p. 93]¹. The second element

¹ As it seems quite impossible to explain *Mærl-* as a Germanic element, one may be inclined to connect it with the Irish *Mærlin* (the name of the well-known mythical figure in the Arthurian epics).

was OE *beorh*, which later on has been as usual replaced by *borough*; see Brokenborough. The pronunciation [mɒl-bərə] is due to an older form, in which *r* has been lost (see Horn § 237, note 1).

Marston SW of Potterne.

1309 in *Merstone* Br. Mus.; 1331 *Mersheton* Phillipps' fines; 1413 *Mershton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Merssheton* FA.

Originally **merse-tūn* (OE *merse* = marsh). The situation is on low ground on a tributary of the Lower Avon. For the change of *sh* > *s* which has taken place in the majority of the pl. ns containing this first element, Alexander (Pl. Ns of Oxf., p. 150 f.) assumes, with great probability, that there were two factors which co-operated to this development: 1) the AN spelling *s(s)* for *sh*, 2) the analogy of the gen. *s* of the first element in other pl. ns.

The next two names, which also refer to low-lying places near water, have the same etymology.

Marston Maisey (Meysey) NE of Cricklade.

1194 *de Merstoñ* Rot. Cur. (or = M. South); Hen. III *Merston* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Mershtone* T. Eccl.; 1301 *of Mershtone Meysi* Cat. A. D.; 1316 *de Northe Mershton* FA; 1331 *Merston Meysy* Pat. R.; 1332 *Mershton Meysy* ib.; 1428 *Mersheton* FA.

See above. 'Maisey' (Meysey) is a family name, probably of native origin.

Marston, South NE of Swindon.

1262 *Merston* C. Inq.; 1330 *Suthmershton* Phillipps' fines.
See above.

Marten E of Burbage.

1086 in *Mertone* (twice) DB; 1227 *Merton, Mereton* Ch. R.; 1246 *de Mertone* Macray; 1278 *Marthon* C. Inq.; 1428 *Merton* FA.

Probably from an original **māre-tūn* ('the farm at the border'). The termination has become *-ten* through weakening.

Medbourne SE of Swindon.

955 †*on medebourne* CS no. 904 (prob. identical); 1306 *Medburne* Cal. Inq.; 1392 *Medebourne* ib.; [n. d.] *Medeburne* Cat. A. D.

No doubt from an original **æt* (*ǣre*) *māed-burne* [*æt* (*ǣm*, *ǣre*) *māed-burnan*], denoting the little affluent of the r. Cole here. WS *māed* (Angl. *mēd*) = 'meadow' (mead). We obviously have the same name in *medeburne* (Dors.?) CS no. 754, and in mod. *Medbourne* (Leics.) [occurring as *Medburne* in DB, 1278 *Medburn* C. Inq., *Medburn* TN].

Melksham NE of Trowbridge.

1086 *Melchesham* (twice) DB; 1194 *Melcheshā*, *Melkeshā*, *Mulcheshā* Rot. Cur.; 1200 *Melkesham* Osmund; 1222 *Melkeham* R. L. Cl.; 1228 *de Milkesham* Cl. R.; 1232 *Melkesham* Ch. R.; 1240 *Melcsham* Pat. R.; 1253 *Melkesham* C. Inq.; 1260 *Melksham* Ch. R.; 1280 *Mulkesham* Cl. R.; 1316 *Melkesham* FA; 1377 *Melchesham* R. Pat.; 1458 *Milkesham* Br. Mus.

Originally **meole-hām*. This place must consequently have been a sort of dairy farm in OE times. The *-s-* is no doubt, a later insertion.

Mere [*miə(r)*].

1086 *Mera*, *Mere* DB; 1091, c. 1190 *Mera* Osmund; 1220 *Mere* ib.; 1243 *Mere* Ch. R.; 1316 *Mayre* FA; 1380 *Meere* Cal. Inq.; 1402 *Mere* FA.

OE *māre* (= boundary, landmark). As the town is situated in the SW corner of the county near the border of Soms., it is most probable that the name originally denoted the

border between the 'Wilsæte' and the 'Sumorsæte'¹. *Mayre* (FA) is to be considered as an inverted spelling (French *ai* > ME *æ*).

Merton see Marden.

Midgehall near Wootton Bassett.

1319 of *Miggehale* Pat. R.

Probably from **Meczan heall* (or *healh*), *Mecza* being an OE p. n. (recorded among the signatories in CS no. 379), no doubt the same word as OE *mæcza* (**mecza*) = 'man'. Cf. *Midgehalgh*, Lances., which probably also contains the same p. n. (see the old forms quoted by Wyld). For *healh* see Ludgershall.

Milbourne a suburb of Malmesbury.

1315 *Milburn* Rot. Orig.; *Mulburn* Pat. R; 1388 *Mulberne*.

Originally **æt* (*ǣre*) *mylen-burne* [*æt* (*ǣm*, *ǣre*) *mylen-burnan*], denoting a tributary of the Lower Avon.

Mildenhall (locally 'Minall') ENE of Marlborough.

803—805 †*Mildanhald* CS no. 324; 1086 *Mildenhalle* DB; 1241 in *Mildehale* Ch. R; 1260 *Mildehal* C. Inq.; 1281 *Mildehall* ib.; 1316 *de Mildenhale* FA; 1327 *Mildenhale* C. Inq.; 1428 *de Myldenhale* FA.

From **Mildan heall*, **Milda* probably representing some name beginning with *Mild-*, e. g. *Mildred*; cf. *Milston*, below. The final *d* in the CS form must be an error.

Milford at Salisbury.

1086 *Meleford* (twice) DB; Hen. III *Muleford* Rot. H., C. Inq.; Edw. I *Muleford* Rot. H.; early 14th cent. *Muleford* TN.

¹ The question of the exact limits of the counties in OE times seems not to be quite settled, but their general limits are considered to be of great antiquity (see Pearson, p. 27).

Originally **mylen-ford*. For *e* as a representative of OE *y* in DB see Stolze § 15.

Milston N of Amesbury.

1086 *Mildestone* (twice) DB; 1178? *Mildistona* Br. Mus.; 1199 in *Mildeston* Rot. Ch.; 1272 *Mildeston* C. Inq.; 1270 *Mildestona* Ch. R.; 1330 *Mulleston* C. Inq.; 1361 *Mileston* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Mildeston* FA.

Probably from **Mildan tūn* (with a later substitution of strong for weak gen. ending). For *Milda* see Mildenhall, above. *u* in *Mulleston* stands for a secondary *y*.

Milton Lilbourne E of Pewsey.

1205 in *Mideltoñ* R. L. Cl. [prob. identical]; 1281 *Middelton Lillebon* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Middelton* T. Eccl.; 1308 to *Middle-tone* C. Inq.; 1319 *Middelton Lillebon* ib.; 1402 *Milton* FA; 1416 *Milton* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Myd(d)elton* FA.

Originally **middel-tūn*. 'Lillebon' looks like a French family name, of which 'Lilbourne' in that case must be a corrupt form.

Minety NE of Malmesbury.

844 †*Minty* (*Mintyg*) CS no. 447; 880 †*Mintih*, †*Minti* (*Mintig*) ib. no. 444; 1199 *Minthy* Rot. Ch.; 1232 *Minthi*, *Menthi* Ch. R.; 1258 *Mynti* ib.; 1336 *Minty* ib.; 1428 *Mynty* FA.

The first element is OE *mint* (= mint) and the termination *ieȝ* (here as always in Wilts. pl. ns denoting 'marshy land')¹.

Monkton Deverill NE of Mere.

1086 *Devrel* DB 66 c or 66 d; Edw. I *Deverel Monketon* Rot. H; c. 1290 *Deverel Monachor* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Monketon* FA; 1336 *Monketon Deverel* Cal. Inq.; 1340 *Monkendeverel* Cl. R.

¹ It is a well-known fact that the most common species of this plant (*Mentha arvensis*) flourishes on moist ground.

'Monkton' is here probably a distinctive name, due to the fact that the abbot of Glastonbury was formerly tenant of the manor (see DB). For *Monken-* (Cl. R), which seems to be improperly added here as well as in the following name, see Kington St. Michael, above. For *Deverill*, see Brixton D.

Monkton Farleigh E of Bath (Soms.).

1001 †*at Farnlēghe* CD no. 706; 1086 *Farlege* DB 73 c; 1194 *de Farnlege, Ferleia, Ferneleia* Rot. Cur.; 1227 *Ferleg(h)* Ch. R; *de Farlegh* Cl. R; c. 1243 *Fernleya, de Fernlege, Farleyge* Macray; 1316 *Farley Monachorum* FA; 1363 *Munkesfarlegh* Cal. Inq.; 1397 *in Farleghe* Br. Mus.; 1400 *Monken Farlegh* Cat. A. D.; 1408 *Monkenfarlegh* Phillipps' fines.

Originally **fearn-lēah* (OE *fearn* = fern). The distinctive name refers to a Cluniac priory, which was founded here in the 12th cent. (Heath, p. 233). For *Monken-* see Kington St. Michael and preceding name.

Moredon [*mə(r)d'n*] NNW of Swindon.

1086 *Mordone* DB; 1227 *in Mordone* Br. Mus.; 1305 *Mordon* Cl. R.

Originally **mōr-dūn*. OE *mōr* = 'moor', 'waste (and damp) land'. The *ō* of the first element has been shortened in ME before two consonants.

Note. Wyld's suggestion, p. 191, that the first element of *Moreton*, Lanes., is OE **zemāre* (= *zemāre*) must be a mistake, as no unmutated variant of *zemāre* exists.

Murcott [*məə(r)kət*] NNE of Malmesbury.

1065 †*Morcotun* CD no. 817; [n. d.] *Morkote, Morcote* Reg. Malm.

Originally **mōr-cot(e)*. The vowel of the first element was obviously shortened in late ME or early NE while it was at the stage *ū* of its development (see Horn § 103: 2), after which it had the same development as the genuine

u-vowel (before *r* + cons.); see Horn § 65. The quoted CD form may represent the OE dat. plur., or — as seems more probable — *-tun* has been added by the scribe through the influence of the other pl. ns in *-tūn* occurring together with this name in the charter referred to.

Netheravon S of Enford.

1086 (*in*) *Nigravre*, *Nigravra* DB; c. 1115 *Netheravon* Osmund; 1149—53 *Nederauena* Round, Ancient ch.; 1158 *Netheraven* Osmund; 1173 *Nederauena* Pipe R; 1212 *de Nederaveñ*, *de Nethaveñ* R. L. Cl.; 1226 *Nutheraven* Osmund; c. 1290 *de Nytherhavene* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Netheravene* FA; 1331 *of Netherhavenne* Ch. R; 1428 *in Nether Havene* FA.

Originally **æt niðer-Afene* or **æt þām niðeran Afene*. The DB forms are accounted for by Zachrisson, pp. 117, 142¹. For the initial *h* of the second element in some ME forms see under Avon.

Netherhampton SSE of Wilton.

1316 *Nether Hampton* FA; 1333 *Nitherhampton* Cl. R; *Nytherhampton* C. Inq.

The second element goes back to **hām-tūn* (not **hēan-tūn*, as the place is situated in the Nadder valley). *Nether* serves to distinguish this place from the neighbouring Quidhampton, Chilhampton, and Ditchampton.

Nettleton WSW of Grittleton.

944 †*at Netelintone*, †*de Netelingtone* CS no. 800 [possibly identical]; 956 †*at Netelingtone* ib. no. 933; 1086 *Niteletone* DB; c. 1290 *Netlinton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Neteltone* FA;

¹ The suggestion of Jones, p. 226, that these forms represent 'nigrum arvum', a Lat. rendering of 'Black Heath', the name of the downs NW of Netheravon seems too hypothetical to be trusted, for Lat. 'arvum' would certainly not have been used to denote an unfertile heath.

1324 *Nettelton* ib.; 1330 *Netelton* Ch. R.; 1428 *Netelton*, *Netylton* FA; 1493 *Nettleton* Br. Mus.

From **Nyttelinga* (or **Nyttelan*) *tūn*, **Nyttel(a)* being a diminutive of *Nytta*, a p. n. occurring in LVD. The reason why *e* has replaced *y* (*i*) in the first syllable must be association with the subst. *nettle*, for OE *y* does not develop into *e* in this dialect. Cf. Ebbesborne, above.

Netton NNE of Wilton.

1308 *Netton* C. Inq.; early 14th cent. *Neteton* TN; 1322 *Netteton* C. Inq.

Possibly from OE **net(t)-tūn* ('an enclosure fenced in by nets'); cf. Stanton, Stockton.

Newnton, Long NW of Malmesbury.

681 †*Niuentun* CS no. 58; 1065 *Newentuna* CD no. 817; 1086 *Newentone* DB 67 a; c. 1290 *Niwetun*, *Neuton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Newynton* FA; 1331 *Long Newenton* Phillipps' fines; Edw. III *de Nywyntone* NI; 1428 *Neweton* FA.

From an original **æt* (*ǣm*) *nīewan tūne*. The OE dat. *n* has consequently survived in this pl. n. as well as in the following.

Newnton, North SW of Pewsey.

892 †*Norþniwetune* CS no. 567; 933 †*Nywantun* ib. no. 699; 1086 *Neweton* DB 67 d; 1199 *de Niwentoñ* Rot. Ch. [prob. identical]; c. 1290 *Northnywetun* T. Eccl.; 1296 *Northnewendon* Pat. R; 1316 *de Newentone* FA; 1428 *Nywetun*, *North Newton* ib.

See preceding name.

Newton Toney ESE of Amesbury.

1086 *Newentone* DB 70 b; 1256 *Neuton* C. Inq.; 1270 *Niwetona* (*Umfridi de Bohum*), *Niwetona* (*Johannis de Nevill*) Ch. R; c. 1290 *Neweton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Nywenton* FA;

1363 *Newynton Tony*, *Newenton Touny* Cl. R; 1369 *Newenton Tony* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Nyweton Teny* FA.

See above. The change of *-en-* > *ing* is due to analogy with pl. ns, the first element of which contains a patronymic. The distinctive names are AN family names. For 'Toney' see Hildebrand, p. 343.

Newton Without, South NNW of Wilton.

943 †*Sud Niwetune*, in *Niwantune* CS no. 782; 1086 *Newentone* DB 68 a; c. 1190 *Sud Nyweton* Macray; c. 1290 *de Suthnywetone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Neweton* FA; 1358 *Newenton* Cl. R; 1453 *Sowthe Newton* Cal. Inq.

'Without' refers to the situation of this parish outside the municipal borough of Wilton, in which part of the old parish is incorporated.

Norrington near Alvediston.

1307 *Northynton* Ch. R; 1312 *Nhorthyntone* C. Inq.; 1331 *Northyngton* Phillipps' fines; 1361 *Northynkton* Cl. R; 1485 *Northyngton* C. Inq.

This name may be derived from **Norðinga tūn*, *Norðing* being a patronymic of **Norða*, a shortened form of some name beginning with *Norð-* (e. g. *Norðman*, *Norðgar*). The assimilation of *r* and *ð* seems to have taken place at a rather late period.

Norton SW of Malmesbury.

931 †*Northun*, †*Northon*, †*de Nortone* CS nos. 671, 672; 1065 †*Nortuna* CD no. 817; 1086 *Nortone* DB no. 67 a; 1222 *de Northone* Macray; c. 1290 *Norton* T. Eccl.

OE **norþ-tūn*.

Norton Bavant NW of Heytesbury.

1086 *Nortone* DB no. 70 c; c. 1290 *Northton*, *Northone* T. Eccl.; 1335 *Norton Scydemor* C. Inq.; 1428 *Norton Bavent* FA.

OE **norþ-tūn*. 'Bavant' (Bavent) and 'Scydemor' (Scudamore) are family names¹, the former AN; see Bardsley. The latter refers to the Petrus de Skydemore to whom Upton Scudamore owes its dist. name (see Rot. H. II, p. 277).

Oakhill WSW of Hungerford (Berks).

1257 *Hochulle*, *Hokhull* C. Inq.; 1428 *Hokhull* FA.

The sense is obvious. For the initial *h* see under Avon.

Oaksey NE of Malmesbury.

1086 *Wochesie* DB; 1197 *Wokesia* Feet of fines; 1274 *of Wockes(eie)* C. Inq.; 1275 *at Wokeseye* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Wokeseye* T. Eccl.; 1302 *of Wokeseye* Ch. R; 1324 *Wockesey* FA; 1402 *in Wokkeseye* ib.; 1428 *Wokesey*, *de Wockeseye* ib.

Probably from **Woc(c)es iez*. A p. n. **Woc(c)* certainly existed in OE, if we may judge from the local *wocces geat* (CS nos. 594, 1080); see also Förstemann, Pers. 1628 f. The termination means 'marshy land' (referring either to the east or south portion of the present parish, both of which have a low situation and are watered by the Thames and the Swill brook respectively). For the loss of the initial *w* see Horn § 173.

Oare N of Pewsey.

1232 *in Ore* Ch. R; 1316 *de Ore* FA; 1428 *in Oare* ib.; 1498 *in Ore* C. Inq.

Originally **ōra*, **æt* (*þæm*) *ōran* (= border, edge), OE *ōra* being a word chiefly used in pl. ns [e. g. *on Windlesoran* AS Chr. E (A. D. 1096) = Windsor, Berks.] The present name no doubt refers to the long well-marked edge of Hewish Hill, under which the village lies.

Odstock S of Salisbury.

1086 *Odestoche* DB; 1173 *Odestocha* Pipe R; 1199 *Odestoka*

¹ See Jones, p. 226.

Feet of fines; 1281 *Oddestock* Ch. R; 1316 *de Oddestoke* FA; 1428 *Odestok*, in *Odestoke* ib.

Probably from **Odan stoc*. For the p. n. *Oda* see Forssner, p. 198 f.

Ogbourne St. Andrew } N of Marlborough.
 „ **St. George** }

1086 *Ocheborne*, *Ocheburne* DB; 1133 *Occheburna* Cal. France; c. 1190 *Okeburn* ib.; 1208 *Okeburn* Osmund; 1252 *Okeburn* Ch. R; 1277 *Hokeburn* Pat. R; Edw. I *Northokeburne* Rot. H. (= O. St. George); 1316 *Okkeburne Parva* FA (= O. St. Andrew); *O. Magna* ib. (= O. St. George); 1428 *Okeburn Sancti Andree*, *Okebourne minori* ib.; *O. Sancti Georgii*, *O. majori* ib.

Originally **æt Oc(e)an burne* [*burnan*], viz., the affluent of the r. Kennet. now called 'the Og' (a back-formation from Ogbourne). **Oc(e)a*, recorded in the local *ocan léa* CS no. 627, *ocan slāw* (prob. mistake for *hlāw*) ib. no. 1230, is probably a variant of the p. n. *Ocea*, which occurs among the signatories of several OE charters. The distinctive names refer to churches.

Note. In this connection attention may be drawn to the name *Oglethorpe*, W. R. of Yorks. Moorman's statement that *Ogle-* might represent the p. n. *Acwulf* cannot possibly be correct on account of the DB forms, which are *Ocelestorp*, *Ogles-torp*. I am, on the contrary, inclined to trace a diminutive form of **Oc(e)a*, *Ocea* in this name, viz. **Ocel(a)*.

Orcheston St. George } NW of Amesbury.
 „ **St. Mary** }

1086 (*in*) *Orcestone*, *Orchestone* DB; 1195 *de Orchesdeñ* Feet of fines; 1261 *Orcheston* C. Inq.; 1281 *Horcheston* Ch. R; 1314 *Ordrycheston* C. Inq.; 1316 *Orcheston* FA; 1428 *Orcheston Georgii* ib.; *O. Boyvile* ib. (= O. St. Mary).

From **Ordrices tūn*, *Ordric* being an OE p. n. Cf. the development of *Urchfont* (*Erchfont*), below. The distinctive

names refer to churches. 'Boyvile' (Bovill) is an AN family name (see Bardsley).

Overton, West WSW of Marlborough.

939 †*Uferan tun*, †*Oferan tun(es)*, †*Ofretone* CS no. 734; 949 †*æt Ofærtune* ib. no. 875 (possibly identical); 972 †*æt Uuertune* ib. no. 1285; 1086 *Ovretone* DB; 1284 *Overton* Ch. R; Edw. I *Westoſtone* Rot. H; 1316 *Overton* (*Abbatisse*) FA.

Originally **se ufer(r)a tūn* [**æt pām ufer(r)an tūne*].

The distinctive name in FA refers to the abbess of Wilton, who is mentioned as tenant here in DB.

Note. Kemble's identification of *Uferantune* CD nos. 1092, 1094 with this place is erroneous. It is, on the contrary, identical with Overton (SW of Basingstoke), Hants. (*æt*) *Uferantune* CS no. 1152 is also identical with this Hants. place, although Birch incorrectly locates it in Wilts.

Oxenwood ESE of Burbage.

1265 *Oxinwod* Pat. R; 1332 *Oxenewode* C. Inq.

No comments needed.

Patney SE of Devizes.

963 *æt Peatanige, to Peattanige, to Pittanige* CS no. 1118; c. 1050 †*æt Peattanigge* CD no. 949 (prob. identical); 1221 *Patenia* Macray; 1284 *Patney* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Pateny* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Pateneye* Ch. R; 1331 *in Pateneye* C. Inq.

The termination is OE *iez* (here = 'marshy land'). The first element can hardly be anything but a p. n. (of unknown origin), the same as that which occurs in †*Peatting tune* CS no. 587. **Pitta* in *Pittanige*, if not merely a mistake, is to be considered as a variant of **Peatta*, formed from the regular patronymic of this name [**Pi(e)tting*]. Cf. *Tud(d)a*: **Tyd(d)a*, under Tedworth, below.

Paxcroft ENE of Trowbridge.

1253 *Packelescrofte* C, Inq.

The first element contains the diminutive of a p. n. which is certainly not on record independently but the existence of which is nevertheless proved by several local names: †*Peccinges* CD no. 414, *Pæccingas* ib. nos. 481, 715, 896 (= Patching, Sussex), †*Pakenhām* ib. nos. 851, 957, †*Pakinton* ib. no. 916, †*Pakyngham* ib. 939 (the two latter = Packington, Leics.), *Pacleshām* ib. no. 824. The termination is OE *croft* (= 'enclosed field').

Pertwood NW of Hindon.

1086 *Perteworde* DB; 1166 *Plewurda* Pipe R; 1200 *Perteswrde*, *Perteswrth* Phillipps' ped. fin.; 1324 *Perteworth* FA; 1365 *Perteworth* Phillipps' fines.

The first element was probably a p. n., the same as that which occurs in *peartan heal*¹ CS no. 1282, p. 587, and *Peartinga wyrth* ib. no. 262; cf. also *Pertenhall*, Beds. (see Skeat Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 23 f.) The first member of *Pertnith*, found on a coin of the time of Ceolwulf I, seems to be the same. The early forms show that the termination of the present pl. n. was originally OE *weorþ*.

Pewsey SSW of Marlborough.

880—85 †æt *Pefesigge*, †*Pevesy*, †*Pefesy* CS nos. 553, 554, 555; 940 *Pevesige* ib. no. 748; 1086 (*de*) *Pevesie* (four times) DB; 1166 *Peuesia* Pipe R; c. 1290 *Peveseya* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Peueseye* FA; 1324 *Peuesy* ib.; 1428 *de Peueseye* ib.

The termination is OE *iez* (= marshy land). The first element most probably contains the p. n. *Peuf*, found in LVD beside the weak *Peufa*, probably of Celtic origin; see Müller, p. 43.

Pewsham SE of Chippenham.

1263 *Peusham* Pat. R; 1284 *Pewesham* Cl. R; 1288 *Peuwesham* Cat. A. D.; 1298 *Pewesham* Pat. R; 1303 *Pevesham*

¹ Also written *pyrtan h.* in the same charter, for which cf. *Pittanige* (mod. Patney) above.

R. Pat.; 1307 *Pewsham* C. Inq.; 1315 *Pewesham* ib.; 1320 *Powesham* Cl. R.

Probably from **Peufes hām*. For *Peuf* see preceding name.

Pitton E of Salisbury.

1215—20 *Putton* Osmund; 1246 *Putton* Ch. R.; 1255 *Put(t)on* Pat. R; 1273 *Puttone* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Puttene* T. Eccl.: early 14th cent. *Piton* TN; 1316, 1402 *Putton* FA.

I suggest an original **pytt-tūn*; (*pytt* = 'pit').

Porton SE of Amesbury.

1086 *in Poertone* (prob. identical), *Portone* DB; 1269 *de Portone* Macray; c. 1290 *Portun* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Pourton* FA; 1326 *Porton* C. Inq.; 1428 *Porton* FA.

The origin of the first element is obscure.

Potterne [*potə(r)n*] SSW of Devizes.

1086 (*in*) *Poterne* DB; 1091 *Potern* Osmund; 1146 *Poternam* (Lat. acc.) Macray; 1148 *Poternas*¹ ib.; 1195 *Poterna* Feet of fines; 1236 *Poterne* Ch. R; 1279 *Poterna* C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 *Potterne* FA.

The original form may have been **Put(t)an ærn*; *Put(t)a* is recorded as an OE p. n.² Cf. *Chitterne*, *Colerne*, *Vasterne*.

Poulshot [*poulsæt*] SW of Devizes.

1199 *Paulesholt* Rot. Cur.; 1220—28 *de Paulesholte* Macray; 1228 *Paleshot* Cl. R; 1272, 1279 *Paulesholt(e)* C. Inq.; early

¹ The final -s is no doubt a mistake, due to the influence of *Caningas*, which occurs immediately before it in the document.

² To infer, with Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 54, an OE p. n. **Pot*, **Pot(t)a* from the patronymic *Pot(t)ing-* (in †*Pottingtūn* CD no. 1299, †*Potintūn* ib. no. 1358, and †*potingdūn* ib. 1368) is rather dangerous, as it is impossible to know if the *o*-vowel is genuine.

14th cent. *Paueleholt* TN; 1316 *de Paulesholte* FA; 1422 *Polesholt* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Poulesholt* FA.

Originally **Paules holt*. The loss of *l* in the termination is due to weakened stress. Note the spelling pron. of the mod. name.

Preshute Within [*presæt*] in the mun. bor. of Marlborough.

„ **Without** adjoining the above.

1185 *Prestcheta* Pipe R; 1223 *de Preschete* Macray; 1252 *Preschut*, *Preshut* ib.; c. 1290 *Prescut* T. Eccl.; 1313 *de Purshute* Cl. R; 1314 *de Pershute* ib.; 1320 *of Pershute* Pat. R; 1332 *Preshute* Phillipps' fines; 1338 *of Prestchute* ib.; 1426 *Presshuyte* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Presthut* FA; 1534 *Preshet* Dugdale.

This cannot possibly be a pure Germanic name. It seems as if the same Celtic word as occurs in *Chute*, above, is also present here.

Purton NW of Swindon.

796 †*Piertean* (corrupt), †(*de*) *Puritone*, †*Perytun*, (†*Puritun*) CS no. 279 (prob. identical); 854 †*at Peritune* (*Pirigtune*) ib. no. 470 (prob. ident.); 1065 †*Pirituna* CD no. 817 (prob. ident.); 1086 *Piritone* DB; 1257 *in Periton* R. fin. exc.; 1281 *Peritone* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Puryton* T. Eccl.; *Pyriton* C. Inq.; 1299 *Pyryton* Br. Mus.; 1316 *de Purytone* FA; 1428 *Puryton* ib.; 1494 *Pereton* C. Inq.; 1498 *Pyrtun* ib.; 1568 *Perton* alias *Purton* Cat. A. D.

The first element is OE *pirize* = 'pear-tree'. The forms with *e* in the first syllable have, no doubt, been influenced by ME *pere* (< OE *pere*, *peru* = NE 'pear').

Purton Stoke N of Purton.

1476 *Puryton Stoke* Cat. A. D.

Originally **æt* [*ǣm*] *stoce*; see under Baverstock. *Purton* is only a distinctive name (referring to the neighbouring Purton).

Quemerford near Calne.

1240—45 *Quemerford* Macray; 1293 *Quimerford* Cal. Inq.; 1370 *Quemerford* Phillipps' fines; 1404 *Quimerford* Cal. Inq.

It is impossible to identify the first element¹. The form *Cummerford*, quoted by Camden p. 106, must be corrupt.

Quidhampton W of Salisbury.

1287 *Quidhamton* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Quedhampton* Plac. Warr.; 1324 *Quidhamptone* C. Inq.; 1331 *Quedehampton* Phillipps' fines; 1459 *Quydddehampton* Cal. Inq.; 1485 *Quedham(p)ton* C. Inq.; 1493 *Quydhampston*, *Quedehampton* ib.

Quid- cannot possibly be a Germanic element. Cf. *Quidenham* Norfolk, (occurring as *Cuidenham* in DB, *Quydenham*, *Quidynham* C. Inq.). *-hampton* goes back to OE **hām-tūn*.

Rabson N of Avebury.

Edw. I *Rabbedeston* Rot. H; 1316, 1428 *Rabbedeston* FA.

From **Radbodes tūn*, *Radbod* being a Continental-Germanic p. n.; see Forssner, p. 205. The loss of *t* in the second element is due to weakening; cf. Hodson, above.

Ramsbury NW of Hungerford (Berks.).

909 (*ad ecclesiam*) *Corviniensem* Osmund (prob. referring to this place); 947 †*rammesburi* CS no. 828 (prob. ident.); 1023 *Coruiniensis (ecclesiae)* CD no. 737 (prob.); 1086 *Ramesberie* DB; 1091 *Rammesbiri* Osmund; c. 1125 *Ramesberia* W. Malm.; 1146 *Rammesberiam* (acc.) Macray; 1196 *Ramesbir* Feet of fines; 1227 *Remmisbiri* Ch. R; 1240 *Ramesbiri* ib.; *Remmesbure* Macray; 1275 *Ramsbury* Ch. R; 1294, 1300 *Remmesbury* ib.; 1316 *Rammesbury* FA; 1428 *Remmesbury* ib.

It is often a matter of mere conjecture to say whether the common elements *Raven-*, *Ram-* in Engl. pl. ns origin-

¹ An OE p. n. **Cwēnmer* can hardly be assumed, as the member *-mer* (which would here represent *mæru*) is quite unknown in female names.

ally represent OE *hræfn* (*hræmn*) = 'raven', or the Scand. p. n. *Raf(e)n* (see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 109). In the present name, however, the latter alternative is strongly supported by the character of the second element. For the development of *Rafn* > *Ramn*, see Bülbring § 485. The *e*-vowel in the first syllable of some ME forms is due to the influence of the bird's name, ME *rem* (< OE *hrem*).

Ratfyn near Amesbury.

1086 *Rotefeld(e)* (twice) DB¹; c. 1115, 1226 *Rotefen* Osmund; 1270 *Rotheffen* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Roffen* T. Eccl.; Edw. III *Rotheffen* NI; 1428 *Roffen* FA; 1540 *Rothfenne* Dugdale.

Probably from **Hrōþan fen(n)*, **Hrōþa* being a pet-form of some p. n. beginning with *Hrōþ-*, e. g. *Hrōþgar*, *Hrōþmund* (see Müller, p. 105 f.). The change of *o* > *a* is due to the dialectal peculiarity mentioned in connection with Calcutt, above. It is curious that the weakening of the second element has resulted in *-fyn* (*fin*) instead of *fæn*. For the unusual rendering of intervocalic *ð* by *t* in early ME documents see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. The later change of *þ* > *t* is due to the following fricative.

The place has a low situation by the East Avon.

Ridge E of Hindon.

1407 *Rugge* Cal. Inq.; 1558 *Ridge* Br. Mus.

'The ridge' (of the down).

Rockley NW of Marlborough.

1086 (*in*) *Rochelie* DB; 1221 *Rokel̃* R. L. Cl.; 1270 *Roclea* Ch. R; 1273 *Rocle* C. Inq.; 1299 *Roukley* Cal. Inq.; 1316 *Roucle* FA; 1335 *Rookele* C. Inq.; 1428 *Rokele* FA; 1485 *Rokeley* C. Inq.

¹ This place is certainly situated in Ambresbury hundred, and, if not identical with modern Ratfyn, the places seem at least to be connected with each other on account of the similarity of the first elements.

Probably from an original *æt þām (þære) hrōc-lēage (OE hrōc = 'rook'). The *ou* in Cal. Inq. and FA may denote simply *ō*.

Rodbourne S of Malmesbury.

701 †*Redburna* (*latex*), [†*Reodburna*] CS no. 103; 758 †*Reodburna* (*latex*), [†*Rotburne*] ib. no. 185; 844 †*Rodburne* ib. no. 444; 982 †*Reodburna*, †*Rodburne* CD no. 632 (prob. identical); 1065 *Rodburna* ib. no. 817; 1232 *Redburn* Cl. R (or = R. Cheney); 1316 *Rodburne* FA; 1453 *Roddeborne* Cal. Inq. (or = R. Cheney).

Originally *æt þām (þære) hrēod-burnan (*æt þære hrēod-burne), *burne* referring here to the little affluent of the Lower Avon which flows south of the ancient 'Corsburn'¹ (mod. Gauze brook). OE hrēod = 'reed'. Shifting of stress has taken place in the OE diphthong.

Note. There seems no reason to locate (on) *Hreódburnan*, †*Hrédburnan* CD nos. 1146, 1185 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index.

Rodbourne Cheney NNW of Swindon.

1086 *Redborne* DB; c. 1290 *Rodeburn* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Rodburne* FA; 1428 *Rodebourne*, *Rodeburn* ib.

This name, which has obviously the same derivation as the preceding one, designated originally the little stream here that runs into the r. Ray (an affluent of the Thames).

'Cheney' is an AN family name, see Bardsley; and Jones, p. 229.

Rollestone [roulst'n] W of Amesbury.

c. 1290 *de Rolvestone* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Rolveston*, *Rouleston* FA.

This name obviously contains the Scand. p. n. *Rolf*, for which see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 113. The termination is OE *tūn*.

¹ See under Corston, above.

Rood Ashton SE of Trowbridge.

1475 *Rode Assheton* Cal. Inq.; 1596 *Rowde Asheton* Br. Mus.

See Steeple Ashton, below. The distinctive 'Rood' must refer to a cross which formerly existed here.

Roundway [or 'Roundaway'] NNE of Devizes.

1316 *Ryndewey* FA; 1337 *Ryndway* Phillipps' fines; 1428 *Ryng(e)wey* FA; 1491 *Rundewey* C. Inq.

The most plausible origin of this name is **Hringan weȝ* (**æt Hringan weȝe*)¹, **Hringa* being a hypocoristic form of such p. ns as *Hringwine*, *Hringwulf*. The modern *Round-* is in that case easily explained as a popular development, caused by ME **Run-*, an AN rendering of *Ryng-*; (cf. Groundwell, Landford, above).

Rowde [*roud*] NW of Devizes.

1086 *Rode* DB [prob. identical]; 1205 *Rodes*, *Rudes* R. L. Cl.; 1221, 1223 *Rudes* Pat. R.; 1261 *Roudes* ib.; c. 1290 *Roudes* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Roudes* FA; 1318 *Roude* Cl. R.; 1330 *Roud* Pat. R.; 1428 *Rowes* (corrupt) FA.

It is not improbable that this name represents OE *rūde* f. (plur. *rūdan*) = mod. 'rue' (a plant of the genus 'Ruta', formerly used for medicinal purposes). *Rowde* may consequently be a pl. n. analogous with *Bedwyn*, *Bremhill*, above. Most of the ME forms show substitution of strong plur. ending for the original weak one.

Rushall [*rəʃl*] SW of Pewsey.

1086 *Rusteselve* (corrupt), *Rusteselle*² DB; 1160 *Rusteshala* Pipe R.; c. 1200 *de Rusteshale* Osmund; 1207 *de Rusteshall* R. Oblat.; 1258 *Rusteshal* C. Inq.; 1284 *Rusteshell*

¹ The possibility that the adj. 'round' formed part of the original name is, on the contrary, not supported by the quoted ME forms.

² Or possibly meant to be *Lusteselle*, as is supposed by Jones, p. 230, in which case it would be identical with Lushill.

Pat. R; of *Rosteshale* Cl. R; 1285 (in) *Rusteshale* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Rusteshale* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Rusteshale* FA; 1397 *Rusthalle* Cal. Inq.

Originally **Rustes* (*Rustan*?) *heall* (or *healh*). A p. n. **Rust* (**Rusta*) is not on record, but its existence seems authenticated by the local *Rustington*, Sussex, (see the old forms quoted by Roberts, p. 136), and †*rusting den* CS no. 459.

Salisbury or New Sarum.

1146 *Sarisberia* (Lat. gen.) Macray; 1205 *Salesbiſ* Rot. Ch.; 1218 *Sarrisburie* Pat. R; 1227 *Novæ Sarum* (*Sarisberia*) (Lat. gen.) Macray; 1232 *Sarresbiri*, of *Saresberie* Ch. R; 1258 *New Sarum* C. Inq.; 1268 *apud Saresbyriam* Ch. R; 1270 *Saresbury* ib.; 1289 *Sarrum* C. Inq.; 1316 *Nove Sarisburie* (gen.) FA; 1336 *Salesbirs* Pat. R; 1376 *Saresbirs* Cl. R; 1428 *Nova Sarisburia* FA.

See Sarum, Old, below. For the final *s* in the forms of 1336, 1376 see Westphal § 24.

Salterton NNW of Salisbury.

1309 *Saltertone*, *Salterton Derneford* C. Inq.; 1428 *Salterton* FA.

Originally **sealtera* (*sealteres*?) *tūn*. OE *sealtere*, *saltere* = 'a salter', 'dealer in salt'. Cf. *sealtera cumb* CS nos. 158, 727, †(*on*) *salter forda* ib. no. 1109, *saltera weg* ib. no. 1282, p. 588. The distinctive *Derneford* refers to the neighbouring Durnford.

Salthrop SE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Salteharpe* DB; 1198 *Sauteharp* Feet of fines; 1240 *de Saltharp* Cl. R; early 14th cent. in *Saltharepe* TN; 1328 *Saltharpe* C. Inq.; 1428 *Saltharp* FA.

Originally **sealt-ſorþ*, probably denoting a place where salt was stored for sale. *Salt-* is a rather common element in Engl. pl. ns. It is curious that in all the ME forms the

termination shows weakened stress. Has the element possibly been influenced by the dialectal tendency to change *o* > *a* (see Calcutt)?

Sandridge NW of Devizes.

1418 *Sandrigge* Cal. Inq.

The meaning is obvious.

Sarum, Old N of Salisbury.

[552] *æt Searo byrg* AS Chr. [Ā], *Searo byrig* ib. [E], *Sælesberi* ib. [F]; [1003] *to Searbyrig* ib. [E, F]; [1085] *to Seare byrig* ib. [E]; 1086 *Sarisberie* DB; 1091 *Sarum* Osmund; [1096, 1099, 1100, 1106] (*on, of, æt*) *Sear byrig* ib. [E]; [1123] *of Seres byrig, of Særes byrig, of Seares byrig* ib. [E]; [1125] *of Særesbyrig* ib. [E]; [1126, 1130] *of Særes byri* ib. [E]; [1132] *of Seresberi* ib. [E]; [1137] *of Sereberi* ib. [E]; 1195 *Veteris Sarum* (gen.) Macray; 1218 *apud Veteres Sarisbirias* ib.; 1319 *Old Sarum* C. Inq.; c. 1540 *Old-Saresbyry* Leland.

Old Sarum is a place of great antiquity and is generally considered to be the **Sorbiodunum* (*Sorbiodoni, Sorvioduni*) mentioned in Antoninus' Itinerary. If this is the case, it seems not improbable that *Searo-* in *Searobyrig* may be simply an AS corruption of the first element of the Celtic name (no other pl. n. containing OE *searu* is on record). The insertion of *s* in the composition-joint is due to analogy with other pl. ns in *-byrig*, which as a rule have a gen. *s*. The change of *r* > *l* is due to AN infl.; see Zachrisson, pp. 120, 130.

Sarum was formed from the first element of *Saresbury* by means of the Latin ending *-um*, (see Zachrisson: Some Inst. of Lat. Infl. on Engl. Pl. Nomencl., p. 11); cf. *Meldum* under Malmesbury.

Savernake (Forest) SE of Marlborough.

933 *Safernoc (silva)* CS no. 699; 1221 *de Savernaċ* R. L. Cl.; 1223 *de Severnaċ* ib.; 1232 *Savernak* Ch. R.; 1246 *of*

Savernake ib.; 1248 *Savernac* ib.; 1306, 1333, 1355 *Severnak* Cl. R; 1354, 1426 *Savernack* Cal. Inq.

This name can hardly be Germanic. Guest, p. 61, states as his opinion that it is connected with the name of the River Severn, which he takes to be derived from the Irish *sab(h)rann* (= boundary)¹, *Savernake* representing an adj. **sab(h)ranach* from this subst. [*coit* (= 'wood') understood].

Seagry SSE of Malmesbury.

1086 *Segrie* DB; 1207 *Segrey* Rot. Ch.; 1217 *Segre* R. L. Cl.; c. 1220 *Segreya* Br. Mus.; 1232 *in Segreya*, *Segrey* Ch. R; 1258 *Segre* C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 *Segre* FA.

The etymology is obscure.

Sedgehill SW of Hindon.

1398 *Seggehull* Cal. Inq.; 1493 *Seggehill* C. Inq.

The first element most probably refers to the plant-name *sedge*, the assumption of an OE p. n. **Secga* being hardly justified.

Seend W of Devizes.

1203 *Sendes* Rot. Ch., Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1269 *Sende* C. Inq.; 1282 *Sende* ib.; 1286 *in Sende* Ch. R; 1316, 1402, 1428 *de Sende* FA.

This is no doubt the same word as is contained in the local *æt Sendan* CS no. 1063 (according to Birch = Send, Surrey), perhaps also the same as the first element in *senhyll* ib. no. 216, and †*senet ricge* ib. no. 1282, p. 587. It seems not impossible that Middendorff, p. 115, is correct in assuming that we have in this word an English equivalent of the 'oberdeutsch' *sente* (= Viehof, Vieherei)², but it is curious that there

¹ See Stokes, p. 289, and Holder II, p. 1272.

² On the other hand it is quite impossible to see why Middendorff at the same time connects this word with German *Sende* (= Binse), as this word was *semida* in OHG.

are no other traces of the word, not even in the English dialects.

Semington NE of Trowbridge.

1470 *Semington* Br. Mus.

Originally **Semīnga* (or **Seman*) *tūn*. An OE p. n. **Sema* is certainly to be connected with the Scand. *Sæmingr*, *Semīngr* (see Lind). Cf. †*Semes lod* CS no. 125, and next name.

Semley NE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

955 †*on Semeleage* CS no. 917; c. 1190 *Semele* Macray; Edw. I *Semeligh* Rot. H; 1316 *de Semeleghe* FA; 1428 *Semele* ib.

*æt *Seman lēaze*. For **Sema* see preceding name.

Sevenhampton [called 'Sennington'] SSE of Highworth.

Hen. III *Sevehampton* Cat. A. D.; 1262 *Sevenhampton* C. Inq.; 1276 *Sevehampton* Ch. R.; *Sevenht.*, *Sevehampton* Br Mus.; 13th cent. *Suvenhantone* Liber rub.; 1313 *Sevene-hampton* Pat. R; 1316 *Sevenhampton* FA; 1330 *Senhampton* Pat. R.

'The seven homesteads'. The loss of the original plur. s may be due partly to the early weakening of the first element, owing to which its meaning has been forgotten, and partly to the influence of the singular *-hampton* in other pl. ns. Sevenhampton, Glos., is also called 'Sennington'; for this contraction cf. *sennight*. For the *u*-vowel in the Liber rub. form, see under Bemerton.

Note. It is very uncertain whether †*Seofonhæmtune* CD no. 767 and †*Seofenempton* ib no. 1324 refer to this place.

Shalbourne [ʃælba(r)n, ʃɔlba(r)n] SSW of Hungerford (Berks.).

1086 *Scaldeburne* (three times), *Saldeborne* DB; 1242 *Scaudeburne* R. fin. exc.; 1253 *Schal-desburne* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Schal-*

deborn T. Eccl.; 1329 *Westshaldebourne* C. Inq.; 1375 *Chaldebourne* Cl. R.; 1428 *Shaldebourne* FA; 1493 *Shalburne* C. Inq.; c. 1540 *Chauburne* Leland.

Originally **æt* (*þām*, *þære*) *scealdan burnan* (**æt þære se. burne*), viz. the little affluent of the r. Kennet which passes here. For OE **sceald* (NE *shoal*), which is only recorded in pl. ns, see Stevenson, *Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 1895—98, p. 532, and NED (under 'shoal')¹. *ch* for *sh* in two of the forms above is merely orthographic (see Zachrisson, p. 37 f.); cf. *Chaw*, *Charnton*, *Cherston* (= Shaw, Sherrington, Sherston, below).

Note. (on) *Scealdeburnan* CD nos. 598, 600, 1082, 1084 was most probably in Soms. and not identical with *Shalbourne*, Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index. The same error is made by Birch, CS no. 611.

Shaw NW of Melksham.

1166 *Schaga* Pipe R (prob. identical); 1199 *in Saghe* Rot. Cur. (prob. ident.); 1285 *Shaghe* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1370 *Chaw* Cal. inq. da.; 1428 *in Shawe* FA; 1495 *in Shawe* C. Inq.

OE *sceaȝa* (= shaw, copse).

Sherrington SE of Heytesbury.

968 †*Scheartune* Reg. Wilt.; 1086 *Scarentone* (twice) DB; 1130—35 *Serenton* Osmund; 1166 *de Sherintoñ* Pipe R; 1247 *Sernton* C. Inq.; 1252 *Sherinton* Pat. R; 1281 *Sherton* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Schertone* T. Eccl.; 1299 *Scharnton* Pat. R; 1316 *Sharenton* FA; 1324 *Schrynton* ib.; 1327 *Sherntone* C. Inq.; 1337 *Sharneton* R. Pat., Pat. R; 1375 *Charnton* Cal. Inq.; 1413 *Sherrinyton* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Sharrenton*, *Schernton* FA.

Originally **scearn-tūn*; OE *scearn* = 'dung', 'filth'. Cf. *Scearndæn* CD no. 518, *Scearnden* ib. no. 700, *æt Scearn-*

¹ Middendorff's explanation of the element in question (p. 111) seems quite absurd. Note also Searle's incorrect assumption of a p. n. **Scealda*.

forda ib. nos. 710, 1298. The later insertion of *-ing-* is due to analogy with those pl. ns that contain the patronymic *-ing*.

Sherston WSW of Malmesbury.

[1016] *æt Sceorstane* AS Chr. [E], *æt Scor[s]tane* ib. [D] [perhaps identical]; 1086 *Sorestone* (or = Sherston Parva), *Sorstain?* DB; 1167 *Scorestan* Pipe R; c. 1200 *Sorestan* Osmund; 1204 *Sorestan* R. Pat., *de Sorestañ* R. L. Cl.; c. 1207 *Sorestane* Br. Mus.; 1227 *Schorestan* Osmund; 1237 *Shorestan* Ch. R; *Schorestan* Pat. R; 1240, 1247 *Shorestan* Ch. R; 1248 *Sherestan* ib.; 1252 *Schorstan* ib.; 1280 *Sherston Magna* Pat. R; Edw. I in *Sereston* Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *Scherston* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Sherston* FA; 1334 *Sherston* C. Inq.; 1337 *Sharston* R. Pat.; *Magna Cherston* Pat. R; 1338 *Sharston* ib.; 1340 *Magna Sherstan* ib.; *Shareston* R. Pat.; 1428 *Sherston* FA.

It is obvious that the termination of this name was OE *stān*. The first element I am inclined to think is the same word as NE *shore*. This is certainly not recorded as an independent word till the 14th cent., but is found in pl. ns as early as the 11th cent.: *Shoreham*, Sussex, occurs as *Sorham* Cal. France A. D. 1073, and as *Sore(s)hā* DB; *Shorwell*, Isle of Wight, as *Sorewelle* DB. In the case of the Sussex name it is evident that the first element denotes 'sea-shore', and this may also have been the case with *Shorwell* (although this place at the present day is situated at a distance of 2 miles from the coast). But it seems also to be a fact that the element in question occurs in names of places situated far inland: *Shoreditch* SSE of Taunton, Soms., *Shoreham* N of Sevenoaks, Kent, *Shore*, near Rochdale, Lancs., and the name under notice. Judging from these names, it would seem as if *shore* might originally have denoted not only 'border between land and water' but also 'border between two different territories'; (cf. the significance of OE *ōra*). This explanation is specially

suitable in the case of *Sherston* on account of its situation near the borders of Glos. *Sherston* may consequently have meant 'boundary-stone'.

The change of *o* > *e* in the first syllable, which did not take place until the change of *-stan* > *-ston*, is most probably to be considered as a dissimilatory process.

Note. McClure's explanation, p. 286, foot-note II, that the first element represents OE *scear*, the name consequently denoting 'a stone with a sharp edge' is impossible. If this was the case, how is the *o* vowel to be explained?

Sherston Parva or Pinkney near Sherston.

1316, 1428 *Sherston Parva* FA.

'Pinkney', according to Bardsley an AN family name, refers to Ralph de Pinkeny, who held lands here in the 13th cent.; see Jones, p. 232.

Shorncote NW of Cricklade.

1086 *Schernecote* DB; 1234 *de Sernekote* Cl. R; 1268 *Sernekote* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *de Cernecote* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Cernecote* FA; 1334 *Cornecote* C. Inq.; 1397 *Sharnecote* Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1428 *Cernecote*, in *Shernekote* FA.

Zachrisson, p. 159, who gives this name as an example of the change of *tf* > *f*, due to French influence, suggests that it may be derived from the River 'Churn' (like *Cirencester*, Glos.). The present situation of the place is certainly about a mile from this river, but it is probable, however, that Zachrisson's view is correct. 'Churn' is of course a Celtic name (see Baddeley, pp. 38, 42).

Shrewton WNW of Amesbury.

1236 *Winterburn Shyreveton* Ch. R; *Winterburne Sireveton* Cal. Rot. Ch.; Edw. I in *Schreveton* Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *Schirreneston* T. Eccl. (*n* mistake for *r*); 1302 *Wyntreburn Shirveton* Pat. R; 1310 *Sherrevetone*, *Wynterborn Sherretone*

C. Inq.; 1316 *Shereveton* FA; 1322 *Wynterbourn Schireueton* C. Inq.; 1428 *Shereveton* FA.

Originally **scīrzerēfan tūn*. For *scīrzerēfa* (sheriff) see NED. The distinctive name refers to the affluent of the Wiley that passes here (see Winterbourne Stoke, below).

Slaughterford NW of Corsham.

1175 *Slachtoneford* Pipe R; c. 1290 *Slahteford*, *Slahtereford* T. Eccl.; 1298 *Slaghteneford* Cl. R; 1299 *Slaghtenford* Pat. R; 1300 *Slaghtenford* ib.; 1316 *Slaghterford* FA; Edw. III *Sla(u)ghtenford* NI; 1428 *Slaghtreford* FA.

According to Camden, p. 103, tradition has connected this name with a great slaughter of the Danes which was supposed to have taken place here. Stevenson, who takes the opportunity of discussing the etymology of this name in his edition of Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 275 f., clearly proves, however, that it has nothing to do with the subst. 'slaughter' and consequently that the tradition has no foundation. Stevenson suggests, on the other hand, an etymology which seems very probable. On account of the forms with the first element in *-n* (which occur too frequently to be merely orthographical mistakes) he derives this element from OE *slāh-þorn* (= sloe-thorn). Cf. *Slaughter* and *Slaughterford*, Glos., which are analogous; (see the old forms quoted by Baddeley).

Smithcot W of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Smitecote* DB; early 14th cent. *Smithcot*, *Smethecote*, in *Smezecote* TN; 1428 in *Smethecote* FA; 1536 to *Smethcote* Br. Mus.

Originally **smiþþe-cot(e)* or perhaps **smiþes cot(e)*. OE *smiþþe* = 'smithy'. As to *t* for *th* in the DB form, see Zachrisson, p. 115, foot-note. The change of *i* > *e* is discussed under Biddestone, above.

Somerford, Great and **Little** SE of Malmesbury.

683 *Sumerford* CS no. 65; 931 *Sumerford* ib. no. 671; 956 †*somerford* ib. no. 922; 1065 *Sumerford* CD no. 817; 1086

Sumreford, in *Somreforde* DB; 1232 *Sumerford* Ch. R; 1252 *Somerford Maudut* Cal. Rot. Ch. (= Little S.); 1254 *Sumerford Maudut* Pat. R; 1333 *Somerford Mauduyt* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Somerford Magna, Parva* FA.

The name indicates that the Avon at this place was only fordable in summer. 'Mauduit' (Maldoit) is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 338. For further information see Jones, p. 235.

Note. *Sumerford* CD no. 714 and †(to) *Sumæres forda* ib. no. 1093 were not in Wilts. although Kemble states that they were. The former may be *Somerford Keynes*, Glos., and the latter was situated in Surrey or Hants.

Sopworth W of Sherston.

1086 *Sopeworde* DB; 1252 *Shopwurth* Ch. R (corrupt); Edw. I *de Suppeworth* Plac. Warr.; c. 1290 *Soppeŵrth*, *Soppewroth* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Soppeworthe* FA; 1318 *Soppeworth* Ch. R; 1428 *Soppeworth* FA.

From **Soppan weorþ*. The first element is obviously the same p. n. as occurs in the local *Soppanbyrig* CS no. 582. A corresponding German *Soppo* is recorded by Searle. Cf. *Sopwell*, Herts. (see Skeat, Pl. Ns of Herts., p. 53) and *Sopley*, Hants. (1086 *Sopelie* DB, 1262, 1274 *Soppele*, C. Inq.). As to *d* for *th* in the DB form, see Stolze § 38.

Southbroom St. James adjoining Devizes.

1227 *Suthbrome* Macray; *Suthbrun* Ch. R (corrupt); 1231 *Suthbrum* Pat. R; 1308 *Suthbrom* Br. Mus.; 1491 in *South Brome*.

The second element is OE *brōm*. 'St. James' is the name of a church.

Southwick SW of Trowbridge.

Hen. III *Southwick* Br. Mus.; 1322 (of) *Sothewyke* Ch. R.

For *wick* (OE *wīc*) see under *Berwick* (Bassett).

Standen NE of Ludgershall.

1086 *Standene* DB (identical according to Jones); 1249 *Standen* Ch. R; 1327 *Staundene* Cal. Inq.

Originally **stān-dene* (*denu*). For *Staunden* see Zachrisson § 9.

Note. *Standene* CD nos. 133, 430, †*Staunden* ib. no. 520 p. 417, and *Standene* ib. no. 1235 were obviously not situated in Wilts., as Kemble assumes. The first of these seems, however, to be identical with North Standen (Berks.) near the Wilts. border.

Standlynch SSE of Salisbury.

Edw. I *Stanling* Rot. H; 1361 *Stallynch* Br. Mus.; 1388 *Stanlynch* ib.; 1403 *Stanlynch* Phillipps' fines.

Originally **stān-hline*. OE *hline* = 'rising ground', 'ridge'. For the inorganic *d* in the mod. form cf. Horn § 185.

Stanton Fitzwarren SW of Highworth.

1086 *Stantone* DB 74 a; c. 1290 *Staunton* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Staunton* FA.

Originally **stān-tūn*, which may have denoted 'an enclosure fenced in by stones' as well as 'an encl. on stony ground'. 'Fitzwarren' is an AN family name.

Stanton St. Bernard E of Devizes.

903 *Stantun*¹ CS no. 600; 957 *Stantun*¹ ib. no. 998; 960 *Stantun*¹ ib. no. 1053; 1086 *Stantone* DB 67 d; 1267 *de Stantone* Macray; c. 1290 *Staunton* T. Eccl.

'St. Bernard' is a family name.

¹ The identity is not quite certain but may be assumed on account of the fact that 'Wodnes dic' is mentioned among the boundaries. The statement in Birch's CS that they represent S. Fitzwarren is, however, quite incorrect.

Stanton St. Quintin NNW of Chippenham.

1086 *Stantone* DB 72 d; 1286 *Stanton St. Quintin* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Staunton* T. Eccl.; 1428 *Staunton (Sancti Quintini)* FA.
 'St. Quintin' is an AN family name.

Stapleford NNW of Wilton.

1086 *Stapleford* DB; c. 1115 *Stapelford* Osmund; 1139? *Stapleford* Macray; 1239, 1322 *Stapleford* Ch. R; 1428 *Stapulford* FA.

The first element is WS *stapol* = 'a post', 'a pillar' (probably erected here to indicate the shallow place in the stream).

Staverton [stævə(r)t'n] N of Trowbridge.

1086 *Stavretone* DB; c. 1540 *Stavertun* Leland.

This name is most probably to be derived from **stæfera* (or **stæferes*) *tūn*, OE **stæfere* being a nomen agentis from *stæf* (= letter, character), consequently meaning 'a scribe' (cf. *bocere*). Cf. *Staverton*, Northants., which occurs as †(to) *stæfer tune* CS no. 792, p. 542, *Staverton*, Glos.¹, and *Star-ton*, Warws.¹

Steeple Ashton E of Trowbridge.

880—885 *æt Æsc-tune*, †*de Asck(e)tune* CS nos. 553—55 [prob. identical]; 1086 *Aistone* DB; c. 1290 *de Hastone*, *Astone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Asshton* FA; Edw. III *Stepell Asschton* NI; 1470 *Stepulasshton* Br. Mus.; 1485 *Stepul Aisshton* C. Inq.

The original name, which also indicated the neighbouring Rood Ashton and West Ashton, seems, on account of the first CS form above, to have been *æsc-tūn* (OE *æsc* = ash-tree). *sck* for *s(e)h* (in CS) is, no doubt, merely orthographic.

¹ See the old forms given in Baddeley, p. 146, and Duignan, Pl. Ns of Warws., p. 106. The explanations given by these scholars seem, on the contrary, far from convincing.

Note. Birch's identification of †*Ashtone* CS no. 1127 with this place is very doubtful, for the boundaries given do not point to this. There is just as little reason for identifying †*Ascesdune* CD 246, †*Aysshedoune* ib. no. 415, and †*æs dūne* ib. no. 446 with any of the present *Ashtons* in Wilts., though Kemble does so.

Steeple Langford NW of Wilton.

957 †*on langan ford* CS no. 992; 963 *æt langanforda* ib. no. 783; 1086 *Langeford*¹; 1256 *Langeford* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Langeford Magna* T. Eccl.; 1294 *Stepel Langeford* Pat. R.; 1309 *Stupellangeford* C. Inq.; 1316 *Steppul Langford* FA.

The original name also refers to the adjoining Hanging L. and L. Little (see above).

Note. There seems no reason for locating †*Langeforth* CS no. 901 in Wilts., as Birch does.

Stert SE of Devizes.

1086 *Sterte* DB; 1269 *Sterte* C. Inq.; 1311 *Steurte* Pat. R.; 1313 *Steorte* Cl. R.; 1315 (*of*) *Sterte* Ch. R.; 1326 *of Sturte* Fine R.; 1330 *Steorte* R. Pat.; 1333 *Sturt* Cl. R.; 1342 *Sturte* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1402 *in Steerte* FA; 1428 *in Sterte* ib.

OE *steort* (= tail; projecting point). Stert is situated on the greensand in the Pewsey valley below the escarpment of the chalk-downs, and, as is often the case in the greensand districts, projecting spits or points beside deep, narrow valleys are found here. It is evident that such a spit must have given the present place its name. For ME *u* representing OE *ēo* see under Bemerton. The mod. spelling is archaic.

Stitchcombe E of Marlborough.

1086 *Stotecome* DB; 1216 *de Stotecumbe* R. L. Cl.; 1227 *Stutescumb'* Cl. R.; Edw. I *de Studescombe* Rot. H; 1316 *de*

¹ There are three *Langefords* in the hundr. of Branche mentioned in DB (fol. 68 a, 68 d, and 72 a) each probably referring to one of the three mod. Langfords here (Hanging L., Little L., and Steeple L.).

Stutescombe FA; 1414 *Stotescombe* Phillipps' fines; 1424 of *Stotescombe* Cat. A. D.

We may assume an original **Stutan cumb*, **Stuta* being probably a hypocoristic form of some compound p. n. with *Stut-* as the first member, of which **Stutheard* and **Stuthere* seem to have existed, judging from the local †(*to*) *stutardes cumbe* CS no. 814 and †(*on*) *stuteres hylle* ib. nos. 179, 628, 905. Cf. also †*stuting* CD no. 773 (= Stowting, Kent?). The late change of *Stut(e)s-* > *Stitch-* must be due to popular etymology. It is interesting to notice a similar development in another name: *Stu(t)chbury*, Northants. (early 13th cent. *Stutesbyr* Br. Mus., c. 1230 *Stotesbur* ib.). For the absence of *b* in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Stockley S of Calne.

1335 *Stokkele* Cal. Inq. (prob. identical); 1445 *Stockley* Cal. Rot. Ch.; [n. d.] of *Stockeleghe* Cat. A. D.

**æt* [*þæm*, *þære*] *stoc(c)-lēaze* (probably = 'a meadow with stumps of felled trees').

Stockton SE of Heytesbury.

1086 *Stottune* DB; 1130—35 *Stoctun* Osmund; 1189 *Stocton* Br. Mus.; 1284 *Stocton* Ch. R.; c. 1290 *de Stottone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Stokton* FA.

OE **stoc(c)-tūn* (probably = 'an enclosure fenced in with stocks or posts'). *t* for *c* in two of the forms above is an error (due to the similarity of these letters).

Stoford [*stoufə(r)d*] N of Wilton.

1284 *Stoford* C. Inq.; 1352 *Stouford* Cl. R.; 1453 *Stofford* Cal. Inq.; 1559 *Stovorde* Br. Mus.

Probably from **stōw-ford*; OE *stōw* = 'place', 'dwelling', 'house'. Cf. *Stowford*, below.

Stoke Farthing E of Broad Chalk.

c. 1190 *Stokes* Macray (prob. identical); 1258 *Stokes* Ch. R.;

1273 *Stok* C. Inq.; 1316 *Stoke Verdon* ib.; 1316 *de Stoke* FA; 1428 *in Stoke Verdon* ib.

**æt* [*pæm*] *stoce* [*stocum*?¹]; see under Baverstock. 'Farthing' is nothing but a corruption of the French surname 'Verdon'.

Stokke [*stok*] near Gr. Bedwyn.

1230—40 *Stok*, *de Stoke* Macray; 1312 *Stokke* Cal. Inq.; 1335 *Stocke* C. Inq.; 1360 *La Stoke* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Stokke* FA.

OE *stoc* = 'place'. *Stokke* is an orthographic contamination of **Stock* (< OE *stoc*) and *Stoke* (< OE *æt stoce*).

Note. (*æt*) *Stoce* CS no. 611, CD nos. 1082, 1084 is certainly not identical with this place, as is stated by Birch and Kemble, but was probably situated in Soms.

Stonehenge [*stounhentf*].

12th cent. *Stanhenges* Luard, Ann.; *Stanenges* Henry of Huntingdon.

Stonehenge, the extensive group of megalithic stones on Salisbury Plain, W of Amesbury, is, no doubt, derived from OE **stān-henc̥za* (plur.). OE **henc̥z* f. (< prim. Germ. **hangjā-*; cognate with *hangian*) is ME *heng(e)*, NE *hinge* (cf. MLG *henge* f.). In order to explain the meaning of the name it is necessary to state that the so-called outer circle at Stonehenge consists of standing stones upon which other blocks of stone are laid horizontally². The original **stān-henc̥za* may therefore refer to these horizontal stones which appear to 'hang' on the others. For the date of Stonehenge see Guest, p. 212 ff.

¹ The plural forms in Macray and Ch. R. may of course equally probably have originated in ME.

² Originally there were 30 upright stones and as many horizontal ones; at the present day, there are only 17 of the former and 6 of the latter left.

Stourton [*stəə(r)t'n*] NW of Mere.

1086 *Stortone* DB (prob. identical); 1199 *de Sturtoñ* R. Oblat.; 1255 *Storton* Pat. R.; 1291 *Sturton* C. Inq.; 1299 *Stourton* Cal. Inq.; 1315 *Stourtone* C. Inq.; 1428 *Stourton* FA; c. 1540 *Stourtown* Leland.

The place has got its name from the River Stour, which rises in this neighbourhood¹. *Stour* is a Celtic name².

Stowell NW of Pewsey.

1300 *Stowelle* Ch. R.

Probably from OE **stōw-wyll(e)*. OE *stōw* = 'place', 'dwelling', 'house'.

Stowford SW of Bradford.

1458 *Stowford* Br. Mus.

See Stoford, above.

Stratford sub Castle NW of Salisbury.

1091 *Stratford* Osmund; 1316 *de Stratforde* FA; 1485 *Stratford* (-under-the-Castle-of-Old-Sarum) C. Inq.

OE **stræt-ford*. Two Roman roads crossed the Avon here: the road running south-west to Dorchester and Eggardon Hill, and the road west towards the Bristol Channel³. The village is situated at the foot of the hill on which the fortified Castle of Old Sarum was situated.

Stratford Toney SW of Salisbury.

670 †*Stretford* CS no. 27; 826 †*Stretford* ib. no. 391; 905 †*Stretford* ib. no. 690; 948 †*Stretford* ib. no. 863; 961 †*Stretford* ib. no. 1071; 986 †*Strétford* CD no. 655; 997 †*Strétford* ib. no. 698; 1086 *Stradford* DB; 1309 *Stretford* C. Inq.; 1315 *Stratford Tony*, 1316 *de Stratforde* FA.

¹ Leland says about this place (part X): 'The ryver of Stoure riseth there of 6 fountaines or springs'.

² That the river name in question should have been introduced from the Continent, as is assumed by Jellinghaus, p. 333, seems most improbable.

³ See Guest., p. 218 ff. [The four Roman ways.]

OE **stræt-ford*. The Roman road between Old Sarum and Dorchester crossed the r. Ebbles at this place. For *Stradford* cf. *Bredford* (Britford). For the distinctive name see Newton Toney, above.

Note. †*Stréteford* CD no. 398, †*Stretforde* ib. no. 460, and †*Strædford* ib. no. 571 were obviously not identical with this place (as is stated by Kemble). The two former were situated in the NW corner of Wilts. (or perhaps in Glos. near the Wilts. border), the latter near the r. Kennet (between Marlborough and Avebury).

Stratton St. Margaret NE of Swindon.

Stratton, Upper adjoining the above.

1086 *Stratone* DB; 1279 *Netherestratton*, *Overestratton* Cat. A. D.; 1304 *Overe Stratton* Cal. Inq.; 1316 *Stratton Inferior*, *Stratton Superior* FA; 1427 *Stretton sanct' Margaret'* Cal. Rot. Ch.

OE **stræt-tūn*. The places are situated on the ancient Roman road which passed between the ancient Cunetio (near Marlborough) and Cirencester (Glos.). 'St. Margaret' is the name of a church.

Studley W of Calne.

1194 *Stodleia* Rot. Cur.; 1232 *Stodleg* Ch. R.; 1240 *de Stodlege* Macray.

Originally **æt* [*ǣm*, *ǣre*] *stōd-lēaze*; OE *stōd* = 'stud', 'herd of horses'.

Surrendell SW of Malmesbury.

1086 *Sirendone* DB [prob. identical]; 1316 *Suryndene* FA; 1330—35 *Cyrendene* Br. Mus.; 1428 *Serenden* FA; 1567 *Sorenden* Br. Mus.

The first element may have contained a p. n. **Syra*, probably the same as occurs in *Sirintone* (Sussex) DB, *Sirestun* (Notts.) ib., and mod. *Syresham* (Northants.) [1284 *Siresham* FA]. Judging from the present situation of the place, the termination seems to have been *denu* (*dene*). The change of the final *n* into *l* was a dissimilatory process.

Sutton Benger NNE of Chippenham.

854 †*at Suttune* CS no. 470; *at Suðtune* Thorpe; 956 †*de Suttone* CS no. 922 (possibly identical); 1065 †*Suttuna* CD no. 817; c. 1290 *Suttone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Sottone* FA; 1377 *Sudeton Berenger* R. Pat.; 1488 *Sutton Benger* C. Inq.

OE *suð-tūn*. 'Benger' is a contraction of the French 'Berenger'.

Note. *Suðtūn* CD no. 319 was in Dors. (not in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index).

Sutton Mandeville SE of Hindon.

1086 *Sudtone* DB 72 b (identical according to Jones); 1275 *Sutton (Maundevyle)* C. Inq. 1428 *Sutton (Maundevyle)* FA.

See above. 'Mandeville' is an AN family name. See Jones, p. 234.

Sutton Veny near Heytesbury.

1086 *Sutone, in Sudtone* DB 72 b, 73 b; 1225 *Magna Sutton* Pat. R; c. 1290 *Fenni Sutton* T. Eccl.; 1298 *Great Sutton* Ch. R; 1316 *Fenny Sutton* C. Inq.; 1341 *Fenny-sutton* Br. Mus.

See above. According to Bardsley, 'Fenny' is a native family name. The use of *v* initially in place of *f* (just as *z* for *s*) is, according to Ellis, p. 38, one of the most conspicuous features of the western Mid Southern dialect. (Cf. Vasterne, Zeals, below).

Swallowcliffe SE of Hindon.

940 *Swealewanclif, to Swealewanclife* CS no. 756; 1086 *Svaloclive* (three times) DB; 1150—60, 1220 *de Swaleweclive* Osmund; 1275 *of Swalklyfe, Swaluweclive* C. Inq.; 1288—92? *in Sualwecliffe* Br. Mus.; c. 1290 *de Swaluclive* T. Eccl.; 1339 *Swalchlyff* Pat. R; 1428 *in Swaluclive, de Swaluclhyffe* FA.

'The swallow-cliff'. Björkman, Pers. I, p. 134, gives a Scand. p. n. *Sualeua*, but there is no reason to assume a

p. n. here. Cf. *Swalecliffe*, Oxfs. (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfs.), and *Swalecliffe*, Kent, both of the same origin.

Note. Whether (*æt*) *Swalewanclife* CS no. 874 (CD no. 1176) was situated in Wilts., it is impossible to say. In CS it is given as identical with *Swalecliffe*, Kent, in CD with *Swallowcliffe*, Wilts.

Swindon.

1086 *Svindune*, (*in*) *Svindone* DB; 1205 *de Swinedon* R. L. Cl.; 1252 *Swindon* Ch. R; Edw. I *in* (*Alta*) *Swunden* Rot. H; 1302 *Hauteswyndon* Rot. Orig.; 1304 (*juxta*) *Altam Swyndon* Cal. Inq.; 1323 *Swyndon Valence* C. Inq.; 1324 *Swyndon Valence* Fine R; *Heghe Swyndon* FA; 1386 *Hiswyndon* Cal. Inq.; 1488 *Hi Swynden* C. Inq.; 1495 *Thevyn*¹ *Swyndon* ib.

Originally **swīn(a) dun*. The old forms above obviously refer to different parts of the place. 'Valence' is a French surname. For further information about it see Jones, p. 235.

Tedworth or Tidworth, North SW of Ludgershall.

1086 *Todew(o)rde* (three times) DB; 1178? *Thudewrda Johannis Marescalli, T. Hogonis de Lacy* Br. Mus.; 1199 *de Thodeswrth Huǵ de Lasci, Thowrtha Joñis Maresč* Rot. Ch.; 1205 *Tudeword̃, Thudeswrth* R. Oblat.; early 13th cent. *Tudeworth* Br. Mus.; 1227 *Tudeuurth* Ch. R; 1232 *Tudeworth* ib.; 1234 *de Tuddewurth* Cl. R; 1270 *Tudeworda Johannis Marescalli, T. Hugonis de Lacy* Ch. R; 1278 *Northtudewrthe* C. Inq.; 1289 *Todeworth* ib.; 1314 *Northtodeworth* ib.; 1316 *de Tudeworth* FA; 1324 *Todeworth Melewys* Pat. R; 1428 *Tudeworth* FA.

In the case of this name it seems necessary to assume two original variants: **Tud(d)an weorþ* (represented by the many ME forms with *o* in the first syllable) and **Tyd(d)an weorþ* (which has survived). **Tyd(d)a* is to be explained as formed from **Tyd(d)ing*, the patronymic of *Tud(d)a* (for

¹ = The even.

this p. n. see Müller, p. 60). Cf. the discussion of the first elements of Durrington, Lydiard, Patney, above. The mod. *Ted-* is due to the influence of a dialectal tendency to change *i* > *e* (see under Biddestone).

Of the distinctive family-names 'Melewys' (Melhuish) is native, the others are AN. See also Jones, p. 237.

Teffont Evias or Ewyas } W of Wilton.
 „ **Magna**

860 *†be Tefunte* CS no. 500; [940 *†teofuntinga gemære* ib. no. 757]; 964 *†at Teofunten*, *†ad Teofontem* ib. no. 1138 [perhaps identical]; c. 1290 *Teffunte* T. Eccl.; 1292 *de Tefhunte* Pat. R; 1316 *de Teffunte* FA; 1335 *Teffonte Ewyas* C. Inq.; 1374 *Tefent* Br. Mus.; 1428 *in Teffonte Ewyas*, *Tevent* FA; 1493 *Over Teffent* C. Inq. (= T. Magna).

I derive this name from **Tēowan font* (*funt*), **Tēowa* being a hypocoristic form of such a name as e. g. **Tēowald* (*Tiuwald*, *Tiowald*, see Müller, p. 85). Cf. the local *†teoue lege*, *†teofe leage* CS no. 204, (*†*)*teowes þorne* ib. no. 279 (the latter prob. in Wilts., near Purton). OE *font* (**funt*) = 'fountain', 'well'. In the earliest ME, the *w* has been assimilated to the following *f*, and the long vowel has normally been shortened before two consonantal sounds.

For the distinctive name, see Jones, p. 79, foot-note.

Thickwood W of Chippenham.

1086 *Ticoode* DB; c. 1460 *Thikwode* Cal. Rot. Ch.; [n. d.] *Thicwode*, *þycwode* Reg. Malm.; 1540 *Thychewood* Dugdale.

The sense is clear. As to the AN substitution of *t* for initial *þ*, see Zachrisson § 2.

Throope near Stratford Toney.

1328 *Throp*, *Thorp* C. Inq.; 1428 *Le Throp* FA.

Originally **æt þām þrope*. The mod. spelling is archaic.

Tidcombe SE of Burbage.

1086 *Titicome* DB (prob. identical); early Hen. III *Tydecumbe* Br. Mus.; 1230—40 *Tydecomb* Macray; 1252 *de Titecumbe* Ch. R.; 1285 *Tidecombe* C. Inq.; 1298 *of Tytecumbe* Ch. R.; 1315 *Tidecomb* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Tydecombe* FA; 1339 *Tidecombe Huse* Pat. R.; 1428 *de Tydecombe* FA; 1489 *of Tytcombe* C. Inq.

From **Tīdan cumb* (*æt *Tīdan cumb*e). *Tīda* is certainly a shortened form of some name beginning with *Tīd-*, of which there are a great number. As to *t* for *d* in the DB form, see Zachrisson, Stud. i mod. språkvæt., p. 8 f. The *t* in the other forms is due to assimilation with *c* (*e* having been syncopated). The distinctive 'Huse' stands for 'Hus(s)ey', according to Bardsley an AN family name. In the time of Edw. I the manor was held by Hubert Hussey (Rot. H. II, p. 260).

Note. *Tiddancumb* CD no. 1216 cannot possibly be identical with this place, as is suggested by Kemble.

Tidworth see Tedworth.**Tilshead** on Salisbury Plain.

1086 *Theodulveside*, in *Tidulfhide* (four times) DB; 1167 *Tidolfeshida* Pipe R; c. 1185 *Teolvesia* Cal. France; c. 1190 *Tidolveshyde* Macray; 1225 *de Tydulveshide*, *de Thidulveshide* Pat. R.; 1238 *Tidelveshid* ib.; 1246 *Teovelsia* Ch. R.; Edw. I *Tydolvesheved*, *de Tydelvesyde*, *de Thidelfhyde* Plac. Warr.; early 14th cent. *Thidulfhide*, *Tidulfeshid* (several times) TN; 1397 *Tilshed*, *Tilshide* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *in Tydelsyde*, *de Tydolveshyde* FA; 1450 *Tydelsyde* Cal. Inq.; 1492 *in Tydelvessyde* C. Inq.

Originally **Tīdwulfes hīd* (see Fifiel). *Theodulveside* (DB) and *Teolvesia* (Ch. R) display confusion with the p. n. *Theodwulf* (see on this point Zachrisson, p. 46, foot-note). On the interchange between *t* and *th* see Zachrisson, p. 47 f. The termination has, after weakening, been changed into *-head* through popular etymology; (cf. Fifiel).

Tinhead NE of Westbury.

1240—45 *de Tynhide, de Tunhide* Macray; 1249 *Tynnehid* Pat. R; 1250 *Tinehid* ib.; 1280 *de Teenhide* Ch. R; 1316 *de Tenhyde* FA; 1402 *de Tynhide* ib.

Originally **tien* (*tȳn*) *hīda*; cf. Fifiield. For the development of the second element cf. preceding name.

Tisbury SE of Hindon.

759 †*Tissebiri* CS no. 186 [prob. identical]; 901—924 †*to Tysse byrig* ib. no. 591; 984 †*æt Tissebiri* CD no. 641; 1086 *Tisseberie* DB; c. 1200 *de Tissiberie* Osmund; 1225 *Tyssebury* ib.; 1316 *Tyssebury* FA; 1332 *Tisbury* Br. Mus.; 1333, 1413 *Tyssebury* ib.; 1428 *Tissebury* FA.

Originally **æt Tis(s)an byrig*. **Tis(s)a* is certainly not recorded as an independent p. n. but its existence is nevertheless certain. A patronymic of the name is found in *Tissington*, Derbs.; see Walker, p. 250. *Tiso*, its Continental equivalent, is recorded in Förstemann, Pers. 411.

Tockenham SW of Wootton Bassett.

854 †*Tockenham* CS no. 481 (*Toccanham* CD); 1086 *Tocheham* (five times) DB; 1194 *Tokhā* Rot. Cur.; 1202 *Thokenham* Phillipps' ped. fin.; c. 1290 *Tokh̄m* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Tockenham* Ch. R; 1316 *Tokkenham* FA; 1415 *Tokenham* Br. Mus.; 1424 *Tokingham* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Tokham, Tokkenham* FA.

Originally (*)*Toc(e)an hām*. For the p. n(s) *Tocca, Toca* see Björkman, Pers. I, p. 142 f.

Tollard Royal SE of Shaftesbury (Dors.).

1086 *Tollard* (three times) DB; 1262 *Tollard* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Tollarde* FA; 1428 *Tollard* ib.

Probably from **Tolan eard* (OE *eard* here = home, property). *Tola* is, according to Björkman, Pers. I p. 143 f., a p. n. of Scand. provenience (< *Tol*).

'Royal' refers to King John, who had a hunting-seat at this place (see Jones, p. 237).

Trowbridge.

1212 *Troubruḡ* R. L. Pat.; 1214 *Troubrigḡ* ib.; 1215 *de Troubrigḡ* R. L. Cl.; 1236 *Troubrig* Ch. R.; 1250 *de Trewbrigge* Macray; 1310 *Trebrigg* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Troubrigge* FA; 1322 *of Troubrigge* Ch. R.; 1394 *de Troughbrigge* Pat. R.; c. 1540 *Throughbridge, Thorough-bridge* Leland.

OE **trēow-brycȝ* ('wooden bridge'), with a shifting of stress in the OE diphthong. The corrupted forms in Leland are due to a misconception about the first element.

Trowle (Common) near Trowbridge.

1086 *in Trole* DB; early 14th cent. *Trulle* TN; 1349 *Troll* Br. Mus.; 1372 *Troll* Cal. Inq.; 1414 *Troll* ib.; 1478 *Trell* ib.

The origin of this name is not clear.

Tytherington near Heytesbury.

1086 *Tedrinton* DB (prob. identical); c. 1140 *Tyderinton* Osmund; 1150—60 *Tiderinton* ib.; c. 1290 *Tuderyngton* T. Eccl.

From **Tīdheringa tūn*; *Tīdhere* is a p. n. occurring in LVD. For the NE change of *d* > *th* see Horn § 181.

Tytherton Kelways and Tytherton Lucas NE of Chippenham.

1086 *Terintone* (twice), *Tedelintone?* DB; 1194 *Tidrinton* Rot. Cur.; 1272 *Tiderintun* Cat. A. D.; 1316 *de Tuderyntone* FA; 1327 *Tuderyngtone Calowey* C. Inq.; 1428 *Tuderyngton Caylewey, Tyderyngton* FA; [n. d.] *in T(h)ederindingdone, de Thederindingdone, Thederindingdune, T(h)uderinton* Reg. Malm.

From **Tīdheringa tūn*; see preceding name. For the AN interchange of *-ring* and *-ling* see Zachrisson, p. 138 ff. On the initial *th* in the Reg. Malm. forms see ib., p. 47.

Adam Lucas and Elyas da Kaylewey¹ are mentioned as land-holders here in TN, pp. 137, 142.

¹ referring to the adjoining estate now called Kellaways, for which see above.

Ugford W of Wilton.

956 (†)*ueganford* CS no. 1030 [*eg* representing *gg*]; [1045 †*Uggafordinga* landscore CD no. 778]; 1086 *Ocheforde*, *Ogeforde* DB; c. 1190 *Uggeford Sancti Johannis* Macray; 1195 *Uggeford* Feet of fines; 1227 *Uggeford* Ch. R; 1275 *Hugeford* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Hugeford* T. Eccl.; 1327 *Ugefurd St. James* C. Inq.; 1328 *Uggeforde St. James* ib.; 1428 *Ogeford* FA.

Originally (*)*Uggan ford*, **Ugga* being, no doubt, identical with the Scand. p. n. *Uggi*. Cf. Ughill, W. R. of Yorks. (see Moorman) and Uggeshall, Suffolk (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Suffolk, p. 47). *ch* for *g* in one of the DB forms may be due to the influence of *Ocheburne* (mod. Ogbourne) occurring in DB four times.

The distinctive names refer to churches.

Upavon or **Uphaven** N of Enford.

1086 *of Oppavrene* DB; after 1142 *Upavene* Br. Mus.; 1172 *Upeauna* Pipe R; 1194 *de Huphaueñ*, *de Uppawne* Rot. Cur.; 1199 *in Uphauēñ* Feet of fines; 1226 *Ophaven* Osmund; 1240 *de Up Aven'* R. fin. exc.; 1316 *de Uphavene* FA; 1324 *in Hupphavene* ib.; 1337 *Uppehavene* Pat. R; 1428 *in Uphavene* FA.

Originally **æt up-Afene* (**æt pām uppan Afene?*). For the initial *h* see Avon, Hacklestone, above. Zachrisson, p. 142, gives *Oppavrene* (DB) as an example of the AN change of *n* > *r* in pl. ns. It would, however, be more correct to say that the form in question has been written under the influence of *Nigravre* (= Netheravon), occurring on the preceding page in DB, for *r* in *Opavrene* is obviously not due to any substitution; (but *Nigravre* itself is of course an example of the change in question).

Uppington N of Stapleford.

1411 *Uppington* Br. Mus.

Other pl. ns which are to be taken into consideration here are *Uppingham*, Rutland (1166 *Uppingehā* Pipe R., Edw. I *Uppingham* Rot. H., 1315 *Uppyngham* C. Inq.), *Uppington*, Salop (1342 *Upinton* C. Inq., 1352 *Opinton* ib.), and also *†upping hæma gemæra* CS no 1315.

Although it is impossible to prove that the *-ing-* element in these names is not genuine, yet there is a strong probability that it is not. It is much more probable that the element in question goes back to *uppan*, dat. of the adj. *up(p)* (= 'high-lying'), the original names being consequently *†æt þām uppan tūne*, etc. with a later change of *-an > -ing* (a development quite analogous with that of the weak gen. *-an > -ing*; see Alexander, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VII, p. 70).

The same element is, no doubt, contained in the local *on Uppan ufre* CS no. 332.

Note. Middendorff's statement that pl. ns of this kind contain the OE preposition *uppe*, *uppan* is a strange mistake.

Upton WSW of Hindon.

1284 *Upton* Ch. R.; 1402 *Upton* FA.

OE **up-tūn*.

Upton Lovell SE of Heytesbury.

957 *æt Ubban tune*, [*ubbantuninga gemære*] CS no. 992; 1086 *Uptone* DB; 1130—35 *Ubbeton* Osmund; c. 1290 *de Ubetone* T. Eccl.; 1314 *Ubeton* C. Inq.; 1316, 1428 *Ubeton* FA; 1476 *Ubbeton Lovell* Cal. Inq.; 1489 *Updon Lovell* C. Inq.

The first element is the p. n. *Ubba*, a diminutive of which is concealed in *Ebbesborne* (see above). 'Lovel(l)' is an AN family name; see Hildebrand, p. 338.

Upton Scudamore N of Warminster.

1086 *Opetone* DB; 1221 *de Obetuñ* R. L. Cl.; c. 1250? *de Uptone* Macray; 1267 *Upton Escudemor* Ch. R.; 1316 *Upton*

FA; 1335 *Upton Scydemor* C. Inq.; 1428 *Upton* [*Escudamor*] FA.

Originally **up-tūn*. The distinctive name (for which see Bardsley) refers to Peter de Skydemore, who was a landholder here in the time of Edw. I; see Rot. H. II, p. 277.

Urchfont or Erchfont SE of Devizes.

1086 *Jerchesfonte* DB; 1175 *Erchesfonta* Pipe R; 1179 *de Archesfunte* ib.; 1205 *Erchesfont* R. Oblat.; 1237 *de Herchesfunt'* Cl. R; Edw. I *Urcheffont* Rot. H; c. 1290 *de Orchesfunte* T. Eccl.; 1291 *in Ercheffunte* Pat. R; 1292 *in Erchesfunte* Ch. R; early 14th cent. *de Urichesfunte* TN; 1314 *Erchefont* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1316 *de Erchesfonte* FA; 1349 *Erchesfounte* Cal. Inq.; 1377 *Lerchesfonte* ib.; 1378—99 *Erchesfont* Br. Mus.; 1428 *de Orcheffunte* FA; 1546—48 *Erchefount* Br. Mus.

This name goes back to an original **Ēardrices font (funt)*. **Ēardric* is certainly not on record, but its existence cannot be doubted when we consider the great productivity of *Eard-* in the formation of OE p. ns. The initial *j* in the DB form is due to change of stress in the OE diphthong (see on this point Zachrisson, p. 65 f., and Sievers § 212, note 2). How are we to account for the initial ME *u-* and *o-*vowels? It has been pointed out above that *u* in early ME may represent OE *ēo* (see under Bemerton). As, however, ME *e* is also a representative of the same diphthong (particularly before *r* + consonant, which is the position of *e* in the present name) confusion between *e* and *u* may easily have taken place. For a secondary *u* to be rendered in its turn by *o* is very common. The *u* in the mod. form must of course be explained in a different way, being due to the fact that *ur* and *er* have been levelled in pronunciation in NE. Mod. *Erchfont* is itself an archaic form. The initial *l* in *Lerchesfonte* (Cal. Inq.) represents the French article.

Vasterne [væstə(r)n] near Wootton Bassett.

1234 *Fosterne* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1235 *of FASTERNE* Ch. R.; 1266 *la Fosterne* R. Pat.; 1280, 1290 *La FASTERNE* C. Inq.; Edw. I *de Wasturne* Rot. H; 1299 *FASTERNE* R. Pat.; 1300 (*in FASTERNE* Ch. R.; 1331 *La FASTERNE* ib.

Probably from **Fæstan ærn*, **Fæsta* being a pet-form of some name beginning with *Fæst*-, of which **Fæstred* (occurring in DB as *Fastradus*, Ellis, Intr. II, p. 316) and **Fæst-wulf* (*Fastulf*, *Fastolf*) are on record. Note also *fæstan falod* CS no. 702, and *fæstan āc* CD no. 652. For the second element cf. *Chitterne*, *Collerne*, *Potterne*, above. On the transition of the initial *f* > *v* see under Sutton Veny. *o* in two of the ME forms quoted is, no doubt, a spelling mistake.

Wadswick SW of Corsham.

late 12th cent. *Wadeswica* Br. Mus.; 1226 *Wadeswyke* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1288 *Waddiswyke* Dugdale.

Originally **Wades* (or **Wadan*) *wīc*; of the cognate p. ns. *Wade* and *Wada*, the weak form is the more common; see Müller, p. 62.

Walcot near Swindon.

1086 *Walecote* DB; early 14th cent. *Walecot(e)* TN; 1324 *Wal(l)ecote* FA.

Most probably from **Wealan cot(e)*, **Weala* being a hypocoristic form of some p. n. beginning with *Wealh*-, several of which are recorded. For the loss of *h* see Sievers § 218.

Wanborough [wonbərə] ESE of Swindon.

854 †*æt Wenbeorgen*, †*æt Wenbeorgan*, †*Wenbergh*, †*to wænbeorgan* CS nos. 477, 478; 1086 *Wemberge* DB; 1146 *Wanberga* Macray; c. 1180 *Wamberga* Osmund; 1194 *de Wenbge* Rot. Cur.; 1205 *Wameburg* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1229 *of Wanberge* Ch. R.; 1245 *Wamberge* Br. Mus.; 1252 *of Wamberge* Ch. R;

1285 *Wanberg* C. Inq.; Edw. I *Wamberewe* Abbr. Plac.;
 1310 *Wamberge*, *Wanbrogh* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Wamberghe* FA;
 1349 *Wamberwe* Cal. Inq.; 1354 *Wenburgh* Cl. R.; 1374
Wanebergh ib.; 1428 *Wamburgh* FA.

By some scholars (among them Ch. Plummer) this place has been thought identical with *Woddesbeorge*, *Wodnesbeorge* (dat.) AS Chr. [A. D. 592 and 715]. From the old forms quoted above it is obvious, however, that this identity is impossible on linguistic grounds. It is true that there is a tendency among the Wilts. dialects to change *o* > *a*, but this transition is of a very late date (hardly older than the end of the 15th cent.); cf. *Calcutt*, *Ratfyn*, *Wansdyke*, *Wraxhall*. A circumstance which also militates against a derivation from *Woden* is the development of *Wansdyke* (see below). What the first element is it is difficult to say for it seems hardly to be Germanic; it may perhaps represent some p. n. [cf. *Waningore* DB (Sussex)]. The second element was OE *beorh*; see Brokenborough, above.

There is another *Wanborough* in Surrey, occurring in DB as *Weneberge*.

Wansdyke [*wonzdaik*].

903 *wodnes dic* CS no. 600; 933 *wodnes dic* ib. no. 699;
 957 *wodnes dic* ib. no. 998; 960 *wodnes dic* ib. no. 1053;
 970 *Wodnes dic* ib. 1257; Hen. III *Wodenesdick* Dugdale;
 1260 *Wodenesdich* Ch. R.

Wansdyke is an ancient British earthwork, originally extending from Andover, Hants., through Wilts., to the Bristol Channel at Portishead. As appears from the old forms above, the ditch has got its name from the god *Woden*. The mod. termination represents the OE dat. form. On the change of *o* > *a* see under *Calcutt*. The mod. pronunciation [*won-*] is a spelling pron.

It is interesting to notice that what is left of the same earthwork in Hants. (N of Andover) is called *Wodensdyke*.

Wardour SW of Tisbury.

901—924 *æt Weard oran* CS no. 591; 1086 *in Werdore* DB; 1314 *Werdore* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Werdure* FA; 1318 *Weredore* C. Inq.; 1392 *Werdour* R. Pat.; 1428 *in Wardore* FA.

Provided the form recorded in CS is genuine, the name is composed of the subst. *weard* (= watch) and *ōra* (= bank, viz. of the r. Nadder). Does the name refer to some look-out stations on the bank of the river during the early wars in Wessex? Cf. *on Wearddune* CS no. 1176, translated in Bosworth-Toller with 'beacon-hill'.

Warminster.

901—924 *Worgemynter* CS no. 591 (prob. ident.); 1086 *Guerminstre* DB; c. 1115 *Werminster* Osmund; 1174 *de Werreministŕ* Pipe R; 1222 *Weremenestr.* Osmund; 1226 *Werministr.* ib.; 1231 *of Werministre* Ch. R; 1259 *de Wer(e)menistre* Mac-ray; Edw. I *Wereministre* Br. Mus.; 1316 *de Weremynstre* FA; 1320 *de Wermunstr'* Rot. Orig.; 1324 *in Weremystre* FA; 1402 *de Wermestre* ib.; 1428 *de Wermynstre* FA; 1471 *Warmester* Br. Mus.; 1496 *Warmester, Wermester* C. Inq.

The first element is the name of the little stream called 'the Were' that passes here and flows into the Wiley. *Were* [*wia(r)*] is, no doubt, a Celtic name. The termination is OE *mynster* = 'monastery'. The absence of *n* in some forms must be due to AN influence (OFrench *moustier*).

Water Eaton E of Cricklade.

1372 *Watereton* Cl. R; 1428 *Eton* FA.

OE **ēa-tūn* (*ēa* referring to the Thames). The pleonastic 'Water' has been added to distinguish the place from 'Castle Eaton'.

Wedhampton (— —) SE of Devizes.

1349 *Wedhampton* Cal. Inq.; 1500 *Wedhampton* Br. Mus.

Probably from **wēod-hām-tūn*. OE *wēod* = 'weed'.

Wellow, West SE of Whiteparish.

c. 670 *on welewe* CS no. 27; 826 *on welewe* ib. no. 391; 880—85 *æt Welewe* ib. no. 553 (possibly identical); 905 *on welewe* ib. no. 690; 948 *on welewe* ib. no. 862; early 14th cent. *in Wilewe* TN; 1316, 1428 *in Welewe* FA; 1493 *in Wellowe* C. Inq.

This name, which originally denoted the stream on which the village is situated (an affluent of the r. Test), is most probably pre-Germanic. There is another *Wellow* in Soms., obviously referred to in CD no. 643: *æt Welewe (stoce), on welewe(heia)*.

Note. Kemble's location of *Ueluue (flumen)* CD no. 115 and (*æt*) *Welowe* ib. no. 1105 seems to be merely a conjecture.

Westbrook NE of Melksham.

late Hen. II *in Westebroche* Br. Mus.; 1266 *de Westebrok* R. fin. exc.

Originally **æt west-brōce* (a little affluent of the Lower Avon).

Westbury.

1086 *Westberie, Wesberie* DB; c. 1115 *Westbiri* Osmund; c. 1145—50 *Westberie* Macray; 1227 *Westbire* ib.; 1229 *Westbury* Ch. R.

**æt west-byriȝ*. For the loss of *t* in one of the DB forms see Stolze § 36.

Westport St. Mary (Within and Wilhout).

1232 *Westport* Ch. R; 1251 *Westport* Cal. Rot. Ch.

'The west gate' (leading to the town of Malmesbury). One part of the present parish lies within the borough of Malmesbury.

Westrop (Park) near Highworth.

Edw. I *in Westropp* Rot. H; 1324 *Westhorp* FA; 1410 *of Westrope* Br. Mus.

OE **west-þorp (þrop)*. See Eastrop, above.

Westwood SW of Bradford.

1086 *Westwode* DB (prob. identical); 1285 *Westwod* Ch. R.;
1316 *Westwode* FA.

OE **west-wudu*.

Wexcombe SE of Burbage.

1158 *Westcūba* Pipe R; 1167 *Wexcūba* ib.; 1172 *Westcumba* ib.; 1173 *Wex Cumba* ib.; 1231 *de Wexcumb'*, *de Westycumb'* Cl. R; Hen. III *de Westcumbe* Rot. H; 1274 *of Wexecumbe* Cl. R; 1275 (*of*) *Westcumbe* Ch. R; 1288 *de Woxecumbe* Rot. Orig.; 1289 *of Wexecumbe* Fine R.; *of Woxecumbe* Pat. R; 1314 *Wexcombe* Ch. R; 1316 *de Woxcombe* FA; 1470 *Westcombe* Cal. Inq.; 1490 *of Westcombe* C. Inq.

Originally **west-cumb*. After loss of *t*, metathesis of *s* and *c* has taken place (with retention, however, of the original termination). That this metathesis is of a dialectal nature has been pointed out in connection with Axford (above). *o* for *e* in the first syllable of a few forms is certainly merely orthographic.

Whaddon SE of Salisbury.

1086 (*in*) *Watedene* (twice) DB; 1109—20 *Hwatedena* Osmond; 1243 *in Waddone* Macray; 1272 *Wadden(e)* C. Inq.; Edw. I *in Watdene* Rot. H; 1290 *Wadden* Ch. R; early 14th cent. *in Wat'den'* TN; 1316 *Whaddon* FA; 1428 *Whadden* ib.

Obviously from **hwāt(e)-dene* (*denu*); OE *hwāte* (= wheat) is found as a first element in several pl. ns. The *a*-vowel indicates absence or early loss of the final *e* of the first element in the OE form; (see Bergsten, p. 33).

Whaddon SW of Melksham.

1086 *Wadone* DB; 1253 *Waddon* C. Inq.; 1428 *Whaddon* FA.

A comparison of the old forms of this and the preceding name indicates that the two names are of different origin, in spite of their conformity at the present day. The ter-

mination of the present name seems to have been *dūn*, and the first element one would be inclined to derive from OE *wād* ('woad'), particularly as this plant-name occurs in several OE pl. ns (see Kemble's index).

Whitbourne W of Warminster.

1396 *Whyteborne* Cal. Inq.

Probably *æt *þām* (*þære*) *hwītan burnan* [*æt *þære hwītan burne*], referring to a little affluent of the r. Frome. The calcareous nature of the soil accounts for the name. There was also, however, an OE p. n. *Hwīta* (see Müller, p. 56), and the possibility of this p. n. being present in *Whitbourne* is naturally not excluded.

Whitcombe near Hilmarton.

1086 *Widecome* DB; 1291 *de Wydecumbe* Pat. R; 1316 *de Wydecombe* FA; 1324 *Wydecoumbe* Pat. R; 1428 *in Wydecombe* FA.

Originally **se wīda cumb* (the broad valley). The development is clear. For the absence of *b* in the DB form see Stolze § 34.

Whiteparish SE of Salisbury.

1306 *Whyteparisch* Cal. Inq.; 1318 *of Wyteparosche* C. Inq.; 1324 *of La Whiteparisshe* Pat. R; 1487 *White Parish* C. Inq.

The parish is situated in the White Chalk district, and this explains its name.

Whitley NW of Melksham.

1001 †*at Witlège* CD no. 706; 1085 *Witelie* DB (prob. identical); 1167 *Wittelega* Pipe R; 1254 *Whitele* Pat. R; 1286 *Whitlee* Ch. R; 1333 *Whytele* Br. Mus.

It is impossible to say whether the first element was the OE adj. *hwīt* or the p. n. *Hwīta*. The origin may consequently have been *æt *þām* (*þære*) *hwītan lēaze* or *æt *Hwītan lēaze*.

Wilcot NW of Pewsey.

1086 *Wilcote* DB; 1205 *Wilcote* Cal. Rot. Ch.; 1220 *de Wilcot* R. L. Cl.; 1285 *in Wylekote* Ch. R; c. 1290 *de Wylecote* T. Eccl.; 1428 *in Wyl(e)cote* FA.

From **Wil(l)an cot(e)*, *Willa* (**Wila*) being probably a pet-form of one of the numerous p. n. compounds with *Wil-*. Cf. *Wilton* (E of Burbage), below, which seems to contain the same p. n.

Wilsford SW of Pewsey.

892 *wifeles ford* CS no. 567; 933 *wifeles ford* ib. no. 699; 1086 *Wivlesford* DB (prob. identical); 1218 *Wivelesford* Macray; 1288 *Wyllisford* Dugdale; 1316, 1428 *Wyvelesford* FA.

The first element contains a p. n., which in OE is only recorded in pl. ns. That this p. n. in certain cases may be of Scand. origin (ONorse *Vifill*) is indisputable (see Björkman, *Pers. I*, p. 175 f.), but it seems also quite certain — as Zachrisson points out in *Stud. i mod. språkv. VI*, p. 278 — that there existed a native **Wifel* as well; (note *Wifeleshale*, Warws., CS no. 127, A. D. 710).

Wilsford SW of Amesbury.

1086 *Wiflesforde*, *Wiflesford* DB (prob. identical); 1178? *Wyuelisford* Br. Mus.; c. 1200 *Wiwelford* Osmund; c. 1207 *Wiuelesford* Br. Mus.; c. 1230 *Wivelesford* Osmund; 1258 *Wivelesford* Ch. R; 1316 *Willesford* FA; 1428 *Wylesford* ib.

See preceding name.

Wilton.

The name occurs as *Wiltun*, *Wiltunia*, *Wilton* (*Wylton*) in the following charters: CS nos. 421, 459, 468—476, 635, 699, 714, 917, 1216, 1304; CD nos. 665, 687, 949, 1290; AS Chr. [871] *æt Wiltune* [Ā], [962] *on Wiltune* [Ā], DB *de Wiltunie*.

This place, which has given rise to the mod. name of the county (see introduction), takes its name from the r. Wiley, on which it is situated; see Wylye, below.

Note. (†) *Willeltun* CD no. 1084 is obviously identical with mod. Wilton in Taunton, Soms.; (in Kemble and Thorpe it is erroneously identified with Wilton, Wilts.).

Wilton E of Burbage.

1227 *Wulton* Ch. R; 1402 *Wilton* FA; 1428 *Wylton* ib.

Probably from **Wil(l)an tūn*; for the p. n. *Willa* (**Wila*) see Wilcot, above.

Wily see Wylye.

Winkfield (now called 'Wingfield') WSW of Trowbridge.

1086 *Winefel* DB; c. 1290 *Wyneffeld* T. Eccl.; early 14th cent. *Winesfeld* TN (prob. identical); 1316 *de Wyncefelde* FA; 1428 *Wynfeld*, *Wenfeld* ib.; 1458 *Wynfeld* Br. Mus.

From **Wines* (or **Winan*) *feld*, *Wine*, *Wina* being OE p. ns. The development of *Win-* > *Wing-* and probably also the change of *ng* > *nk* is due to AN influence; (cf. *Dodine* for *Doding*, *Hardine* for *Harding*, etc.; see Hildebrand, p. 360). *Winkfield*, the mod. official spelling, represents an earlier pronunciation, which is now quite abandoned. Cf. *Wingfield*, Derbs. (Walker, p. 269), *Wingfield*, Beds. (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 18), and *Winsley*, below. For the loss of *d* in the DB form see Stolze § 37.

Winsley W of Bradford.

1316 *Wynesley* FA; 1362 *Winsleigh* Phillipps' fines.

Originally **æt Wines* (or **Winan*) *lēaze*. On account of the proximity of this place to *Winkfield*, the p. n. which is contained in these two names may perhaps have represented one and the same person.

Winterbourne Bassett SSE of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Wintreburne* DB 71 a; 1178? *North Wynterburn* Br. Mus.; 1198 *Winterburn* ib.; 1199 *Nort Winþborñ* Rot. Ch.; 1270 *North-winterburna* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Wynt'burn Basset* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Wynterburne Bassett* FA; 1325 *Wynterbourne Bassett* Ch. R.

Originally *æt þām (þāre) *winter-burnan* (æt þāre w.-burne), here denoting the northern head-water of the r. Kennet. This common name was certainly applied to streams that dried up in summer.

W. Bassett was one of the old estates of the AN 'Bassett'-family.

Note. There seems no reason to locate *Winterburna* CD no. 269 in Wilts., as is stated in Kemble's index, nor †*Winterborne* CS no. 886 (as Birch suggests). If (on) *Winterburnan* CD no. 422 was a Wilts. stream, it is to be located in the south-west of the county (in the neighbourhood of Knoyle).

Winterbourne Dauntsey NE of Salisbury.

fram winter burnan CS no. 1286; 1086 *Wintreburne* DB¹; 1316 *Winterburne Dautesey* FA; 1428 *Wynterbourn Dauntesey* ib.

The name refers originally to the affluent of the Lower Avon which is now called 'the Bourne'². Cf. W. Earls, W. Ford, W. Gunner (or Cherborough), below, all of which derive their name from the same stream. 'Dauntsey' is a native family name (probably taken from Dauntsey SE of Malmesbury).

Winterbourne Earls NE of Salisbury.

1086 *Wintreburne* DB; c. 1290 *Wynt'born Comitis* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Winterburne Comitis* FA; 1323 *Eurleswynterbourne* Pat. R; 1324 *Heorleswynterbourne* FA.

¹ All the four mod. Winterbournes NE of Salisbury are, no doubt, represented in DB, for there are no less than seven *Wintreburnes* mentioned in Exon DB under Alderbury hundred.

² The same stream which in its upper course was at one time called (*)*Colinga burn(e)*; see Collingbourne, above.

The manor has been in possession of the Earls of Lancaster, Lincoln, and Salisbury (see FA, pp. 200, 216, 239).

Winterbourne Ford NE of Salisbury.

1086 *Wintreburne* DB; 1320 *Winterbourneford* Cal. inq. da.

Winterbourne Gunner or **Cherborough** NE of Salisbury.

1086 *Wintreburne* DB; 1199 *Maiden Wiñbor̃n* Rot. Ch.; King John *Maidwinterburgh* Dugdale (corrupt); 1266 *Wintreburn Gunore* Pat. R; 1270 *Maydenwinterburne* Ch. R; 1290 *Wynterburn Gunnore* ib.; c. 1290 *Wynt'born Cherburg* T. Eccl.; 1314 *Maidene Wynterborne* C. Inq.; 1316 *Winterburne Gonnor* FA; 1332 *Winterburne Cherberwe* Cl. R.

'Gunner' is a corruption of 'Gunnora', referring to Gunnora de la Mere, who held lands here in the 12th century, and the epithet 'Maiden' may also refer to this lady. 'Cherborough' is a family name.

Winterbourne Monkton N of Avebury.

1086 *Wintreborne* DB 66 c; c. 1290 *Wynt'burn Monach'* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Wynterborne Monachorum* FA; 1544 *Winterborn Mounckton* Cat. A. D.

The village is situated on the same stream as Winterbourne Bassett; see above. The distinctive 'Monkton' is due to the fact that the Abbot of Glastonbury was formerly tenant of the manor (see DB).

Note. There seems no reason whatever to identify (æt) *Winterburnan* CS no. 1145 with this place, as is suggested by Birch.

Winterbourne Stoke W of Amesbury.

1086 *Wintreburne-Stoch* DB¹; 1167 *Wiñbur̃n Stoeche* Pipe R; 1248 *de Winterburnestoke* Macray; 1283 *Wynterbournestoke* C. Inq.; 1316 *de Wynterburnestoke* FA.

¹ The mod. equivalents of the other *Winterburnes* mentioned in Exon DB under Dole hundred seem impossible to identify (see, however, the suggestions made by Jones, pp. 241, 242).

Originally **æt fæm stoce* (for OE *stoc* see Baverstock). 'Winterbourne', which in the present case is the distinctive name, refers to the affluent of the Wiley which passes here.

Winterslow ENE of Salisbury.

1086 *Wintresleu*, *Wintreslei* (three times) DB; 1166 *Winterlawa Reġ* Pipe R; 1178? *Wyntreslaw* Br. Mus.; c. 1190 of *Wintreslewe* Cal. France; 1199 in *Wiñtlawe* Rot. Ch.; 1201 *Wintreslau* Br. Mus.; 1216 *de Wintrelewe* R. L. Cl.; 1249 of *Winterslewe* C. Inq.; 1275 *Wyntreslawe* ib.; 1316 *de Winterslewe* FA; 1323 of *Wyntereslowe* Ch. R; 1402, 1428 *de Wynterslewe* FA.

Originally **Wintran* (*Wintres*?) *hlāw* (*hlāw*). OE *hlāw* (*hlāw*) = '(funeral) mound'. *Wintra* is recorded as an OE p. n. as early as A. D. 699, and a native *Winter* may perhaps also have existed (although not recorded as an independent name except on the Continent). For the confusion of the second element with *lei* (< OE *lēaze*) cf. Chedglow, above. Note in connection with this name *on wintres hlāwe* CS no. 761, mentioned among the boundaries of Garanford (Garford, Berks.).

The manor was for a time Crown property (see Jones, p. 243), which accounts for the distinctive 'Regis'.

Wishford, Great and Little NNW of Wilton.

1086 *Wicheford* (twice) DB; c. 1190 *de Wykford Majori* Macray; 1227, 1268 *Wicheford* Ch. R; 1277 *Wicford* C. Inq.; 1289 *Magna Wycheford* ib.; 1316 *Magna Whicheford, Parva W.* FA; 1324 *Wychford, Litel Wyeford* ib.; 1336 *Mucheleychford* Pat. R; 1351 *Muchel Wichford* Br. Mus.; 1408 *Magna Wichefford* ib.; 1476 *Little Whisford* Cal. Inq.; 1493 *Wisheford* C. Inq.; 1513 *Wysshelford Magna* Br. Mus.

Originally **wic-ford*. (*wic* = 'dwelling', 'cottage'). The late change of *tf* > *f* is quite analogous to the case of 'Ashelton', the mod. pronunciation of *Etchilhampton*; see Zachrisson, p. 158 f. and Etchilhampton, above.

Wolf Hall near Burbage.

1086 *Ulfela* DB; 1180 *Wulfhala* Pipe R; 1199 *de Wulfhale* Rot. Ch.; 1324 *Wolphal* FA; 1332 *Wolfhale* C. Inq.; 1451 *de Wolfehale* R. Pat.; 1485 *in Wolfale* C. Inq.; 1490 *Wulfall* ib..

From **Wulfan* (*Wulfes?*) *heall* (or *healh*); **Wulfa* is to be considered as a hypocoristic form of some name beginning with *Wulf*-. *Wulf* is recorded as an independent p. n.

Woodborough W of Pewsey.

1240 *in Wudeberg'* Cl. R; 1258 *de Wodeberġ* R. fin. exc.; 1277 *Wodebore* C. Inq.; c. 1290 *Wodebergh* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Wodeberghe* FA; 1428 *Wodebergh* ib.; 1596 *Woodborough* Br. Mus.

Originally **wudu-beorġ*. For the frequent substitution of -*borough* for -*bergh* see Brokenborough, above.

Note. (to) *wuduburh* (†*wudubeorch*) *hyll* CD nos. 436, 698, 985, 1036, 1108 is not identical with the present place, as is stated by Kemble, but was obviously situated in south Wilts. (between Bower Chalk and Britford).

Woodford NNW of Salisbury.

972 (to *ƿæm ealdan*) *wuduforda* CS no. 1286; 1120 *Wodeford* Macray; 1214 *in Wudeford* R. Oblat.; 1226 *Wdeford* Osmund; 1316 *Woodeford Magna*, *Wodeford Parva* FA.

Note. †*Wodeforde* CD no. 460 is to be located in the north-west corner of Wilts.; (when Kemble identifies it with mod. Woodford, he is probably referring to the present place.)

Woodhill S of Wootton Bassett.

1086 *Wadhulle* DB; early 14th cent. *Wodhull* TN; c. 1340 *Wodhull* NI; 1402 *in Wodhulle* FA.

Originally **wudu-hyll*. The *a*-vowel in the DB form is certainly a spelling mistake.

Woodrow adjoining Melksham.

1280 *of La Woderowe* Cl. R; 1286 (*in*) *Woderewe* Ch. R; 1298 (*of*) *Woderowe* Pat. R; 1309 *Woderowe* ib.; 1490 *of Woderewe* C. Inq.

This name corresponds to an OE **wudu-rāw* (*rāw*), [**æt* (*þāre*) *wudu-rāwe* (*rāwe*)]. The meaning of this compound seems, however, not quite clear. Did it mean 'edge of a wood'?

Wootton Bassett.

680 †*Wdetun* CS no. 54; 745 †*Wdetun* ib. no. 170; 844 †*Wttune* ib. 447; 937 †*Wdetun* ib. no. 718; 1065 *Wdetun* CD no. 817; 1086 *Wodetone* DB; 1230 *Wutton* Ch. R; 1271 *Wotton Bassett* C. Inq.; 1316 *Wotton Bassett* FA.

Originally **wudu-tūn*. The place is an old estate of the AN 'Bassetts'.

Note. There seems no reason to locate *Wudetune* CD no. 1183 in Wilts., as Kemble does. In CS (no. 969) it is located in Hants.

Wootton Rivers S of Marlborough.

803—805 *Wdutun* CS no. 324; 1086 *Otone* DB; 1194 *de Wotton* Rot. Cur.; c. 1290 *de Wottone* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Wootton* FA; 1332 *Wotton Ryvers* Pat. R; 1428 *Wotton (Ryver)* FA; 1490 *Wutton Ryver* C. Inq.

See preceding name. 'Rivers' represents a French family name (see Hildebrand, p. 342); according to Jones, p. 228, it refers to the Walter de Riperia, mentioned in Abbr. Plac., p. 78.

Worton SW of Potterne.

1173 *Wrton* Osmund; 1175—79 *Wrtona* Br. Mus.; 1309 *Worton* ib.; 1316 *Worton* FA.

I suggest an original **wyr̥t-tūn*, which may have meant much the same as 'garden'. (OE *wyr̥t* = herb, vegetable). Cf. Worton, Oxf. (see Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxf.) and

Wortley (in Tankersley par.), W. R. of Yorks. (see Moorman).

Wraxhall, North [ræksəl] NW of Corsham.

1086 *Werocheshalle* DB; 1281 *de Worxhale* Pat. R (or = W South); 1316 *de Wroxhale* FA; 1428 *in Wroxale* ib.; 1468 *Northwroxhall* Cal. Inq.; 1477 *Northwraẖhall* ib.

From **Wrocces heall*, **Wroc(c)* being a p. n., found in the local *Wroccesheale* CD no. 768; cf. Wroxton (Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxf.), Wroxhill (Skeat, Pl. Ns of Beds., p. 29), and Wraxhall, Soms. (1323 *Wrockeshale* C. Inq.) The present name, like the following, offers another example of the influence of the tendency among the Wilts. dialects to change *o* > *a*; (see under Calcutt). For the AN rendering of *Wr-* by *Wer-* see Zachrisson, p. 51.

Wraxhall, South N of Bradford.

c. 1290 *Wrockeshale*, *de Wroxhale* T. Eccl.; 1316 *de Wroxhale* FA; 1468 *Suthwroxhall* Cal. Inq.; 1477 *Suthwraẖhall* ib.

See preceding name.

Wroughton S of Swindon.

1086 *Wertune* (prob. identical), *in Wervetone* (prob. ident. but corrupt) DB; 1226 *Werkton* Phillipps' ped. fin.; Edw. I *in Overe Werstone*, *in Nether Werston* Rot. H; c. 1290 *Netherwerston* T. Eccl.; 1300 *Wrfton*, *Wertonam* (Lat. acc.) Ch. R; 1316 *Werston* FA; 1328 *Overwarston* C. Inq.; 1428 (*Nethyr*) *Wroghton*, *Over Worston*, *Nethyr Wrofton* FA; 1488 *Nethir Wroughton* C. Inq.

Undoubtedly from **weorc-tūn* [meaning much the same as **weorcmannes* (*weorcmanna*) *tūn*]. The development of the combination *ct* has taken place on exactly the same lines as pre-Germ. *kt*; [note that the two-fold development of this combination (viz. *ght* and *ft*) is represented here]. Cf. Broughton, above. *s* in some forms is probably an AN rendering of the palatal fricative *ç* (see under

Brigmerston). *Nether W.* seems to have denoted the present village, and *Over W.* the farm immediately south of it, now called Overtown.

Wyke near Trowbridge.

1252 of *Wyke* Ch. R.

**æt* (*þām*) *wīce*.

Wylve or **Wily** [*waili*] on the r. Wiley¹ SE of Heytesbury. 688 *Wileo* (*flumen*), [*Uuilig*] CS no. 70; 860 *be wilig* ib. 500; 880—85 *æt Welig* ib. 553; *Guilou* (*flumen*) Asser; 901 *Biwilig* ib. 595; 940 *be Wilig* ib. 757; 943 *wilig* ib. 782; 946—955 *æt Wilig* ib. 819; 957 *wilig* ib. 992; 963 *on wilig* ib. 783; 968 *on wilig* ib. 1216; 1045 *on wili*(stream) CD no. 778; 1086 *Wilgi*, *Wili* DB; c. 1125 *Wile* (*fluuius*) W. Malm.; 1270 *Wili* Ch. R; c. 1290 *Wyly* T. Eccl.; 1316 *Wyley* FA.

This is, no doubt, a Celtic name. McClure, p. 250 footnote, mentions two river-names in Wales which in all probability contain the same element, viz. *Aber-guilly* and *Camguili*. It is possible that the name is connected with Welsh *gwy* = 'water'.

Note. It is very uncertain whether *Uuilea* CD no. 115, *Wilig* ib. no. 611, and *Wigli*, *Wilig* ib. nos. 664, 665 are to be located in Wiltshire, in spite of Kemble's statement. (*on*) *Wiles yge* ib. no. 1136 seems to have been situated in Hants., near Overton (SW of Basingstoke).

Yarnfield NNW of Mere.

Hen. III *Jernefeld* Dugdale; 1260 *Gernefeud* Br. Mus.; 1536 *Yernefeld* Dugdale.

I derive this name from **Earnan feld*, with change of stress in the initial diphthong; (on this point see Ablington

¹ It may be pointed out that all the OE forms, quoted above, refer to the river at different places.

and Urchfont, above). Cf. *Yarnfield*, Staffs., occurring in ME as *Ernefeld*, *Ernefen* (see Duignan, Notes on Staffs. Pl. Ns), which undoubtedly is to be explained in the same way¹, and also *Yarnton* Oxf. (<**Eardinga tūn*; Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxf.). There are also two other Wilts. names which, although no old references have been found, most probably contain the same p. n., viz. *Yarnbury*, an ancient camp N of Steeple Langford, and *Yarnbrook*, a small hamlet S of Trowbridge. It is, at any rate, quite obvious that these two names cannot contain OE *ȝearn*. -*feud* (Br. Mus.) shows AN vocalization of *l*.

Yatesbury E of Calne.

1086 *Etesberie* DB; 1199 *Hyatebiſ* Feet of fines; 1207 *Yttebiſ* R. Oblat. (prob. identical); 1226 *Getesbir* Osmund; 1239 *Yetesbur* Ch. R; 1252 *Yateburi* ib.; *Yetebiry* Pat. R; 1263 *Yettesbiry* ib.; c. 1290 *Ietesbury*, *Yattesbur* T. Eccl.; 1309 *Hyatesbury* C. Inq.; 1316 *Yattesbury* FA; 1324, 1428 *Yatesbury* ib.

On account of the twofold development of initial OE *ēa*, it is quite impossible to say whether the first element of this name (and of *Yatton*, below) was originally *ȝeat* (**ȝeata*²) or *Eata*. Binz's statement, p. 152, that *Yatesbury* is an example of a pl. n. containing *ȝeat* (= the god *Woden*), is consequently not at all reliable. See Zachrisson's discussion of this question, p. 65.

Yatton Keynell NW of Chippenham.

1086 *Etone* DB 66 b, *Etone* ib. 70 b (according to Jones); *Getone* ib. (possibly ident.); 1257 *Iatton* C. Inq.; c. 1290

¹ Duignan's opinion that the first element represents OE *ȝearn* (yarn) seems very improbable, but I admit that the influence of ME *yern*, *yarn* may have aided the survival of the *ia*-forms.

² a hypocoristic form of some compound p. n. with *ȝeat* as the first element, the existence of which there is no reason to doubt. There is even one on record, viz. *Geatfleda* (fem.) CS no. 1254.

de Yattone T. Eccl.; 1316 *Yatton* FA; 1317 *of Iattone Kayngnel* C. Inq.

See preceding name. 'Keynell' (Kennel) is a family name of uncertain provenience.

Zeals WSW of Mere.

1086 *Sele*, *Sela* DB; 1220 *Seles* Osmund; 1246 *Seles* Pat. R; 1263 *Celes* C. Inq.; 1299 *Selles* Cal. Inq.; 1428 *Selesaylesbury* FA; 1458 *Seles Aylesbury* Cal. Inq.

OE *sele*, *selas* ('house', 'dwelling'). *z* in the mod. form is due to a tendency for initial *s* to become *z* in this dialect; see Ellis, p. 38. Cf. Zeal, Devon, according to Birch identical with †*at Seale* CS no. 968.

'Ailesbury' is a family name.

List of second elements in Wiltshire place-names¹.

OE *æcer* m.: Beanacre, Goatacre.

OE *ærn* n.: Chitterne, Colerne, Potterne, Vasterne.

OE *bēce* f. (beech): Burbage (probably).

OE *beorȝ* (*beorh*) m.: Brokenborough, Marlborough, Wanborough, Woodborough (with later substitution).

OE *brōc* m.: Beversbrook, Westbrook.

OE *brōm* m.: Southbroom.

OE *brycȝ* f.: Bulbridge, Cowbridge, Longbridge (Deverill), Trowbridge.

OE *burh* (dat. *byriȝ*) f.: Alderbury, Amesbury, Avebury, Badbury, Barbury, Chisbury, Chisenbury, Fosbury, Hazelbury, Heytesbury, Malmesbury, Ramsbury, Salisbury, Tisbury, Westbury, Yatesbury; [uncompounded in Bury (Blunsdon)].

OE *burn*, *burne* f., *burna* m.: frequent.

OE *cealc* m.: Bower Chalk, Broad Ch., (originally uncompounded).

OE *cirice* f.: Ivychurch.

OE *clif* n.: Baycliff, Swallowcliffe; [uncomp. in Clevancy, Cliffe (Pypard)].

OE *cote* f., *cot* n.: frequent.

OE *croft* m.: Paxcroft.

¹ For practical reasons I have preferred to state the OE forms of the elements, although many names have of course been formed at a much later date.

OE *cumb* m.: Alcombe, Boscombe, Burcombe, Catcombe, Elcombe, Hippenscombe, Stitchcombe, Tidcombe, Wexcombe, Whitcombe; [uncomp. in (Castle) Combe, Combe, Coombe (Bissett)].

OE *denu* f., *dene* m. f.: Chisledon (with a later substitution), Figheldean, Marden, Standen, Surrendell?, Whaddon (SE of Salisbury; with substitution); (uncomp. in Dean).

OE *dīc* m. f.: Grims Ditch, Wansdyke.

OE *dūn* f.: Baydon, Blunsdon, Bowden, Braydon?, Clarendon, Fresdon, Garsdon, Gomeldon, Hannington (with substitution), Haydon, Hazeldon, Moredon, Swindon, Whaddon (SW of Melksham).

OE *eard* m. (dwelling, home): Tollard.

OE *feld* m.: Bradfield, Chalfield, Cowesfield, Froxfield, Winkfield. Yarnfield.

OE *fen(n)* m. n.: Ratfyn.

OE *font* (**funt*) m.: Fovant, Teffont, Urchfont.

OE *ford* m.: frequent.

OE *geard* m.: Derriads.

OE *zelād* n., see *lād*.

OE *zelæt(e)* n.: Longleat.

OE (*ge*)*mære* n.: Bridmore (with a later substitution), Buttermere, Imber; (uncomp. in Mere).

OE *hām* m.: Corsham, Foxham, Grittenham, Melksham.

OE *ham(m)* m.: Chippenham; (uncomp. in Ham).

Either *hām* or *ham(m)*: Bremilham, Bromham, Cadnam, Harnham, Hartham, Horningsham, Inglesham, Lackham, Lyneham, Pewsham, Tockenham.

OE *hām-tūn* (homestead): Bathampton, Chilhampton, Netherhampton, Quidhampton, Sevenhampton, Wedhampton.

OE *hēafod* n.: (head of a down): Donhead.

OE *heall* f.: Bincknoll, Mildenhall, Wraxhall (prob. both).

Either *heall* or *healh* m.: Ludgershall, Midgehall, Rushall, Wolf Hall.

OE *hīd* f.: Fifiel (2), Fyfield (with a later substitution),

Tilshead, Tinhead (-*head* due to weakning); [uncomp. in Hyde].

OE *hūwisc* n.: Hardenhuish; (uncomp. in Huish).

OE *hlāw* (*hlāw*) m.: Chedglow, Winterslow.

OE *hlinc* m.: Standlynch.

OE *holt* m. n.: Poulshot; (uncomp. in Holt).

OE *hryc* m.: Ditteridge, Eastridge, Lockeridge, Sandridge; (uncomp. in Ridge).

OE *hyll* m. f.: Greenhill, Lushill, Oakhill, Sedgehill, Woodhill; (Hill Deverill).

OE *hyrst* m. (hurst): Gastard.

OE *īez* f. (in Wilts. pl. ns = 'marshy land'): Dauntsey, Eisey, Minety, Oaksey, Patney, Pewsey, (Seagry?).

OE *lād* f. (*zelād* n.): Chapmanslade, Chicklade, Cricklade.

OE *land* n.: Blackland.

OE *lēah* m. f.: frequent.

OE *mearc* f.: Chilmark.

OE *mōr* m.: Blackmore.

OE *mynster* n.: Warminster.

OE *ōra* m. (border, bank): Wardour; (uncomp. in Oare).

ME *parish* (*parochie*, etc.): Whiteparish.

OE *port* m. (gate, entrance): Westport.

OE *rāw* (*rāw*) f.: Woodrow.

OE *stān* m.: Sherston.

OE *stede* m.: Grimstead.

OE *stoc* m. (= place): Baverstock, Beechingstoke, Bradenstoke, Earl Stoke, Laverstock, Odstock; [uncomp. in (Purton) Stoke, Stoke (Farthing), Stokke, and (Winterbourne) Stoke].

OE *trēow* n.: Bishopstrow.

OE *tūn* m.; frequent.

OE *þorp* (*þrop*) m.: Eastrop, Salthrop, Westrop; (uncomp. in Throope).

OE *weȝ* m.: Chittoe, Highway, Roundway.

OE *weorþ* (*worþ*, *wurþ*, *wyrþ*) m. f.: Atworth, Brinkworth, Chelworth (2), Hamptworth, Highworth, Pertwood (with substitution), Sopworth, Tedworth.

OE *wīc* n. (f.): Berwick (4), Chaddenwicke, Southwick, Wadswick; [uncomp. in (Bremhill) Wick, (Farleigh) Wick, (Haydon) Wick, and Wyke].

OE (WS) *wielle*, *wylle* m. f. [*wyll(a)* m.]: Crudwell, Groundwell, Ludwell, Stowell.

OE *wudu* m.: Bowood, Heywood, Oxenwood, Thickwood, Westwood.

Errata.

- p. 22, line 5 and 4 from bottom, read *insufficient*.
» 25, » 4 from top, read *be represented by*.
» 37, » 7 and p. 39, line 10 from top, read *Edward the Confessor*.
» 39, » 16 from top, read *occurring*.
» 73, » 6 » » » *hardly any trace*.
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